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THE MAKING OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

A Brief History

1487—1939

By

M. S. GEEN, M.A.

Pretoria High School for Boys

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This book is dedicated to my former pupils, who in serving the Union of South Africa in peace and in war with the same devotion as their forbears, have deserved well of their Country.

PREFACE

In recent years the Union of South Africa has come to play an increasingly important part in the councils of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the world at large, while the internal problems that exercise the minds of the statesmen and peoples of South Africa are attracting attention far beyond the borders of the Union. It is of great moment for the well-being of the Union of South Africa and of the Commonwealth of Nations to which it belongs that its citizens of English and of Afrikaans speech should achieve a common nationhood. It is of still greater importance for the peace of the world that the Europeans and Cape Coloured people, the Africans and Asiatics, who dwell within the borders of the Union, should learn to live and work together for the common good.

In writing this short book for the general reader I have endeavoured to trace in broad outline the origin and development of the complex racial situation that exists in South Africa at the present time and to suggest lines along which it may be treated in the future. I have made use of the results of the latest research and have tried to select and present the facts with impartiality. A book of this length and scope cannot make any pretence to original research, but it is hoped it may serve a useful purpose in presenting to the reader a general picture of the history of Southern Africa and of the problems that confront the Union of South Africa to-day.

As a student and teacher of history in South Africa, I must acknowledge a considerable debt to other writers. The works which I have found most useful in my teaching and in the preparation of this book are listed on pages xvi—xvii. However, there are two South African historians to whom I must acknowledge my special indebtedness: Professor W. H. Macmillan, formerly of the University of the Witwatersrand, who first

PREFACE

roused my interest in our past and present problems ; and Professor Eric A. Walker, whose *History of South Africa* is among the best-used volumes in my library. The influence of the writings of both these historians will be evident in this book.

I desire to express my thanks to Mr. F. G. Tyers, formerly Headmaster of the Potchefstroom High School for Boys, and to Mr. D. D. Matheson, Headmaster of the Pretoria High School for Boys, who have allowed me a free hand in the teaching of History during the years of my service on their staffs. In numerous discussions I have derived much help from Mr. K. F. Wynne, while Mr. R. E. Ashington has given me assistance in the preparation of the maps. To Mrs. Louis D'Yvoy, formerly Miss M. L. Fair, of the High School for Girls, Potchefstroom, I am especially indebted for reading the book in typescript and giving me such valued criticism ; and my grateful thanks are due to my wife, who shared the labours of preparing the manuscript.

Pretoria, 1945

M. S. GEE

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CHAPTER ONE

THE ERA OF PORTUGUESE DISCOVERY

The history of Southern Africa is first the barren record of a landmark; then the story of a port of call long regarded as an obstruction on the way to the East, alike by the Portuguese and the Dutch, the English and the French; and finally the tale of a wide dominion, whose story in the past century has become increasingly complex with the passing of the years, as the destinies of black Africa, white Europe and yellow Asia have become more and more interlocked the one with the other.

Of the first stage very little is known till the era of Portuguese discovery in the fifteenth century beyond the Phoenician claim to have sailed westward round Africa in the seventh century before the birth of Christ. The Greek historian Herodotus (484-425 B.C.), writing a century and a half later, relates the story with some doubts, but it is at least probable that about 610 B.C. in the time of Pharaoh Necho some Phoenician mariners sailed down the Red Sea from Egypt, landed from time to time on the African coast where they stayed for varying periods and some three years later passed the Pillars of Hercules into the Mediterranean Sea and so came safely home.

Little more is known of the African coast till centuries later. In the seventh century A.D. the Arabs conquered Egypt under its Byzantine rulers, overran all North Africa as far as Morocco and in 711 entered Spain. Then, turning their attention elsewhere, in the tenth and eleventh centuries they settled on the East Coast of Africa. From places like Sofala, which they occupied in 950 A.D., they exploited the interior and carried on trade with India and Ceylon in their ill-constructed dhows. Though they clung to the coast for centuries till ousted by the Portuguese, they made no attempt to settle the interior and today all that remains of their East African possessions is the sultanate of Zanzibar, which, however, dates only from the collapse of Portuguese power in the seventeenth century and is now a British protectorate.

In the Middle Ages the great city of Venice and to a less extent Genoa owed their prosperity to the fact that they controlled the lucrative, though spasmodic, trade of Western Europe with the Levant and so of the Far East over two land routes; the first by ship to Beirut and thence across Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia

and Baluchistan to India; the second from Beirut to Ormuz and thence by sea to the West coast of India. With the conquest of Asia Minor by the Ottoman Turks, culminating in their capture of Constantinople in 1453 and occupation of the Eastern Roman Empire, the land routes to the East were closed to Christian powers. Portugal with her favourable geographical position was eager to find a sea route to the Indies, so that Lisbon might supplant Venice as the commercial centre of Southern Europe. Moreover, in Portugal as in Spain the spirit of the Crusades lived on long after it had died out in the other countries of Western Europe and so the Portuguese monarchs encouraged exploration from motives both of trade and religion. They desired not only to outflank the Mohammedans and find a sea route to the riches of the East, but also in the meantime to obtain gold and slaves from the Guinea Coast and to convert the Moors in West Africa to Christianity.

In 1415 the European exploitation of Africa began with the capture by the Portuguese of Ceuta on the Moroccan coast opposite to Gibraltar. Among those who took part in this operation was Prince Henry of Portugal (1394-1460), a younger son of King John I and his English Queen, Philippa, a daughter of John, Duke of Lancaster, fourth son of King Edward III of England. His later career deservedly gained for him the proud title of the 'Navigator,' for at Sagres close to Cape St. Vincent he established a naval arsenal and an observatory for the study of Navigation, while his residence there became not only a centre for useful geographical studies, but also the headquarters of the best practical exploration of the time. Year by year under the inspiration of Henry the Navigator and with his practical help expeditions sailed farther and farther down the African coast. At a later date Pope Nicholas V (1447-1455), requested the Prince to convert the heathen and the Portuguese Government granted to him a share of the profits of the African trade and thus did 'philanthropy plus 5%' begin to play their part in the opening up of Darkest Africa. At this time about a thousand slaves were brought to Portugal annually and so the Portuguese revived the domestic institution of slavery, which had ceased to exist in Europe in the Middle Ages.

In 1419 Prince Henry's captains re-discovered Madeira, which was colonized some six years later just before the settlement of the Azores was begun. Cape Bojador was reached by Gil Eannes in 1434, while Antonio Gonsalvez discovered Cape Blanco in 1442 and somewhat later Diniz Diaz reached Cape Verde and explored the coast now called Sierra Leone (1448).

Before the death of Prince Henry an expedition explored Cape Verde Islands (1453), and the mouth of the Niger River was discovered and the Equator crossed in 1471. King John II (1481-1495), Henry's great-nephew, encouraged exploration and in 1485 Diego Cao reached the mouth of the Congo. Following on this successful voyage the King fitted out another expedition in 1487 under Bartholomew Diaz (1445-1500), who had under his command two small ships of fifty tons each and one smaller still for carrying provisions. Diaz clung to the coast presumably as far as the Orange River. Then he was blown out to sea and after many days made land again at Mossel Bay, called by Diaz the Angra dos Vaqueiros, the Bay of the Cowherds—Hottentots, no doubt, who did not wait to make acquaintance with the Portuguese sailors but disappeared into the interior. Diaz must have known he was heading for the Indies, but his men would go no farther and on reaching the estuary of the Great Fish River he reluctantly turned back. On the homeward voyage in May, 1488, he discovered the Cape Peninsula, the most southerly point of which he named, appropriately enough, the Cabo de Boa Esperanca, for it was likely that the next expedition would succeed in reaching the Indies though his had failed to do so. Diaz was allowed to see the Promised Land but not to enter it, for in 1500 on his way to India he perished in a storm off the very Cape of Good Hope he had discovered twelve years earlier.

King Manoel I (1495-1521) continued the work of his predecessor and in July, 1497, Vasco da Gama (1460-1524) left the Tagus in command of a fleet of four ships, bearing with him not only the knowledge of the West Coast gained by Diaz, but also the knowledge of the East Coast gleaned by Pedro Cavilhao who had written to the King from Abyssinia of his travels through Egypt and Arabia and of his journey from Aden to Calicut and thence to Mozambique and Sofala. Four months later da Gama reached St. Helena Bay, rounded the Cape of Good Hope and at Christmastide passed the coast that he named Natal. He reached Melinde, where he obtained the services of a pilot, and then in May, 1498, his mission was crowned with success on his arrival at Calicut on the west coast of India. Early in 1499 he was in Portugal again. Many of da Gama's original company had died on the voyage—115 out of 170—but the cargo of spices he brought back to Lisbon paid for the cost of his expedition sixty times over. Moreover, the Turk was outflanked and before long it became evident that the balance of power at sea had been transferred from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. Vasco da Gama received many marks of the royal favour, and his state-

ful monarch, Manoel, surnamed 'The Fortunate,' adopted the title of 'Lord of the Conquest, Navigation and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and China!' Da Gama made another voyage to the East in 1502, returning to Portugal the following year. He did not go back to the East till 1524, when he was made Viceroy of Portuguese India but died at Cochin in December of the same year. By this time the Portuguese had not only wrested from the Arabs their East African possessions, but establishing themselves in India had also gained control of the trade of the East.

These achievements were due to Dom Francisco de Almeida (1450-1510), first Viceroy of Portuguese India, and his successor, Alphonso D'Albuquerque (1453-1515). The former set sail from Lisbon in 1505, captured Quiloa (Kilwa) and Mombasa and established his seat of government at Cochin. In 1509 he destroyed an Arab and Egyptian fleet at Diu and thus made the Indian Ocean a Portuguese lake for a century. On his way to Europe in the following year de Almeida along with 64 of his men, a dozen of whom were captains, was killed on the shores of Table Bay—Saldanha Bay, as the Portuguese called it—on the 1st March, 1510, in an affray with a band of Hottentots. The following day he was buried where he had fallen and henceforth Portuguese sailors shunned the Cape. D'Albuquerque, the real builder of the Portuguese Indian Empire, seized Goa in 1510 and also added Ormuz and Malacca to the possessions of the Portuguese Crown, but he died in 1515 and was buried at Goa, to this day the chief possession of Portugal in India and, in fact, one of the few colonies that remain to the Portuguese Republic in the Far East.

There are many reasons for the decline of Portugal as a colonial power in the East. In the first place the motives that led the Portuguese to Africa and the East were the spirit of adventure, commercial advance and religious fanaticism. They were never colonizers and, moreover, were too proud to work. Corruption was rife both in the army and in the civil service. St. Francis Xavier (1506-1552) was of opinion that no Portuguese official could save his soul. This great missionary, a native of Navarre and one of the original members of the Society of Jesus (1534), went to the Indies in 1540, spent two years in Japan and visited China, where he died in 1552. He too lies buried in Goa. Portugal with a population of some 3,000,000 at the end of the fifteenth century attempted a task far beyond her economic strength. For a hundred years, one in nine of the ships that sailed from Lisbon *ad Indos* never came back and sixty per cent. of the men who set out from Portugal never saw the East, where at the time of

D'Albuquerque's death Portugal had 20,000 men holding 52 stations along 15,000 miles of Asiatic coast.

In Africa the Portuguese showed little interest. Their African stations—S. Paulo de Loanda on the West Coast and Sofala, Mozambique, Quiloa and Mombasa and later, Quilimane and Delagoa Bay on the East Coast—were merely strategic points, neglected when they knew more of navigation and ceased to hug the coast. To the Portuguese it appeared that the natives were too barbarous to be converted or to have much commercial value. The coastal territory was unhealthy and much of it infertile and apparently it had no mineral wealth.

Finally, events in Europe played a decisive part in bringing about the decline of Portuguese power. King Sebastian of Portugal, who had succeeded his grandfather, John III, at the age of three in 1557, was killed twenty years later at the Battle of Kasr-al-Kabir which was followed by the founding of the Empire of Morocco in North Africa (1578). He was succeeded by his uncle, Henry I, a cardinal of the Catholic Church, and with his death two years later the male line of the House of Aviz came to an end and the throne passed to a foreign heir, King Philip II of Spain. Till the House of Braganza came to the throne of Portugal in 1640 the country was little more than a Spanish province and suffered much at the hands of the enemies of Spain, especially English 'Sea Dogs' and Dutch 'Sea Beggars.' In 1581, the year after Sir Francis Drake rounded the Cape in the *Golden Hind*, Philip II closed Lisbon harbour to the Dutch in an effort to ruin the carrying trade of his rebellious subjects in the Netherlands. The Dutch being forced to go to the East themselves had greatness thrust upon them just when Portugal was involved in the collapse of Spanish sea power at the time of the Armada (1588). In the opening years of the seventeenth century the Dutch wrested from the Portuguese the control of the East and of its trade and a new chapter was opened in the history of the Indies and of Southern Africa.

CHAPTER TWO

THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY AND THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

(A) The Origin of the Company

When Philip II of Spain on succeeding to the Portuguese throne closed the port of Lisbon to his rebellious Dutch subjects, they lost their carrying trade in Europe and were forced to go to the East themselves. The geographical position of their homeland had made of the Dutch a nation of middlemen, who had the ships, the sailors and the capital that were so essential for maritime enterprise. But like the Portuguese their object was to trade and not to colonize, for being a small power they too 'could move the World, but could not colonize or people it.' Moreover, the lust of empire was foreign to them, for they did not wish to fight, to conquer and to rule but to exploit the wealth of the East without incurring the expenses of conquest and occupation. To all intents and purposes by 1594 the Dutch, organized in the loose federation of the Seven United Provinces in which the province of Holland was the predominant partner, had secured their independence of Spain. The Dutch having failed in several attempts to reach the East to the north of Europe and Asia, Cornelius Houtman in 1595 in command of a fleet of four ships sailed round the Cape to Java, while in 1598 at least a score of Dutch ships put into Saldanha Bay, which three years later was given its present name of Table Bay by Joris van Spilbergen. Numerous small companies had begun trading with the East and in course of time they were united to form the four companies of Amsterdam, Zeeland, de Maas and the North Quarter. Finally in 1602 these four were amalgamated into the great Dutch East India Company. It was the age of the great chartered companies, for the English East India Company had been founded on the 31st December, 1600, and the next year Lancaster who had been the first Englishman to land at the Cape ten years before, took its first fleet to the East; while the French East India Company was formed in 1604 and was subsequently reorganized first by Richelieu (1642) and then by Colbert (1664).

At first the most successful of these great mercantile concerns was the Dutch East India Company. Within half-a-dozen years of its foundation it had broken the century-old Portuguese

monopoly of the I Roman-Dutch Law and the statutes of the Java, Amboyna and India.

Company owned eig. ranging from 20% to members of the Council together with three estimated at £32,000,00 free burghers nominated by the Governor Siam, Japan and China, High Court of Justice, which tried cases Dutch captains, Tasman, appeal to the Council of India, attended tralia and New Zealand and in questions concerning the burghers they occupied Mauritius and they had to sell their produce to the by 1658 they were the masters too were a Court of Commissioners years the fortunes of the Company, which was a Matrimonial Court Dutch Empire in the island world of the Far East, were one with those of Holland.

(B) The Organisation of the Dutch East India Company

In name it was a private company but in essence it was a national concern, for the Dutch Government was a considerable shareholder, only Dutch subjects could hold shares and small shareholders were encouraged. The Stadtholder became the titular chairman of the Company and the States-General gave the Company its charter, originally for twenty-one years; and in return the latter paid a sum of money to the Government, which re-invested it in the Company as capital. The Government also imposed customs duties on Eastern products imported into the United Provinces and took twenty per cent. of the loot of Spanish and Portuguese ships.

The government of the Company, like that of the United Provinces, was federal in character, for the Council of Seventeen consisted of the representatives of the chambers of the four original companies—eight members represented Amsterdam, four Zeeland, two de Maas (Rotterdam and Delft) and two the N. Quarter (West Friesland), the seventeenth member being elected by the last three chambers in turn. Each city or district contributing over 50,000 florins was allowed a representative in one of the chambers, each of which fitted out its own ships, but the Council of Seventeen ultimately controlled the trading operations of the Company, governed its colonial possessions, maintained its army and made treaties with foreign powers. The Governor-General and Council of India, to which the government of the Cape of Good Hope was subordinate, controlled all the Eastern possessions of the Company from its headquarters at Batavia in the island of Java.

(C) The Foundation of the Settlement at the Cape

Although two English captains, Shillinge and Fitzherbert, landed on the shores of Table Bay in June, 1620, and hoisted the

ling west entered Spain, while a third found its way into Africa, where they were gradually pushed south by the stronger Hamites occupying the Nile region. In succession other races entered Africa from the east and by the sixteenth century there were probably no Bushmen north of the Zambesi River. Being nomadic hunters they lived largely on game and roots. Their family and tribal ties were weak, their ideas of religion rudimentary and their vocabulary limited, but they had considerable artistic talent as we know from their drawings and paintings to be found in rock-shelters all over South Africa. These are in many ways similar and in some respects superior to those extant on the walls of caves in Southern Spain. However, their neighbours, both Hottentots and Bantu, doubted whether they were quite human and so it is not surprising that the Europeans also proved enemies, and that to-day Bushmen remain only in very small numbers in the Kalahari Desert and South-West Africa.

The Hottentots, a people a little bigger and a little darker than the Bushmen, probably originated in Somaliland as a result of admixture between Bushmen and Hamites. According to the generally accepted theory they migrated south-west to the region of the Great Lakes, where they remained for several centuries—until a thousand years before Europeans first settled at the Cape—and then following the Atlantic coast they eventually crossed the Orange River. By the sixteenth century they were to be found along the banks of the Orange and in a thin line along the coast from Walvis Bay to the Umtamvuna River. As each section left the main body, it took a clan name and developed its own customs. They were pastoralists, unlike the Bushmen who were mere hunters, but the Hottentots had little in the way of artistic gifts. An English traveller, J. Maxwell, writing in 1708, refers to them as being ‘cheerful, dirty, hospitable, odoriferous, incurably indolent.’ They were greatly reduced in number by the smallpox outbreak of 1713 and to-day few pure-blooded Hottentots exist, but their blood has been absorbed by the Griquas and the Cape Coloured People and, in varying degrees, by many Bantu tribes.

The Bantu did not come into contact with the Europeans at the Cape until well into the eighteenth century, for they, like the Europeans, were comparative new-comers to Southern Africa. In all probability their original home was Central Asia. They are believed to have entered Africa in large numbers, one section moving down the centre of the Continent and another, whose advance was more rapid, along the East Coast. In the tenth century they were reported to have reached Sofala and, when the Portuguese established themselves on the East Coast, the Bantu

had reached Natal. By the middle of the seventeenth century they were in the vicinity of the Kei River and in the next century the central section had reached the Vet and Caledon Rivers. The Bantu, mentally alert and physically strong, had a complex tribal system with hereditary chiefs whose powers were limited by their councils of headmen.

(F) The Geographical Background to the History of South Africa

The physical features of Southern Africa have helped to determine its history, more especially in relation to European settlement. For more than three centuries European nations regarded the Cape as a half-way house, as a stage in a journey rather than as a home, and this attitude developed owing to the central position of Africa in relation to the other land masses; it accounts, in part, for the slow progress of the Union of South Africa as compared, for example, with the United States of America, which were first settled about the same time as the Cape. Moreover, the foundation of a European settlement in South Africa lagged behind its discovery for a number of geographical reasons in addition to the historical reasons that have been noticed already. The southern part of the Continent is not a land easy of access to settlers coming from across the seas, for the coastline consists either of cliffs or sandhills, while the rivers are often blocked by sand-bars at their mouths and are usually rendered unnavigable by waterfalls or cataracts. Once settlers had landed they found it difficult to make their way into the interior, for in the west the rainfall was scanty and thus the land was barren and waterless, while in the east successive mountain ranges barred the way to the interior. When in the first half of the nineteenth century colonists made their way into the interior plateau, it imposed itself upon their way of life. The wide open spaces, the variable and intermittent rainfall, the lack of river water for irrigation purposes, all forced the early settlers to turn to pastoral pursuits in a country that offered scanty opportunity for intensive agriculture, and also encouraged in them a liking for a life of wandering and isolation that was to have a marked effect on the history of South Africa in the years to follow. The mineral wealth of the country being in the inaccessible plateau region was discovered late and thus only in quite recent years has it provided the money for extensive irrigation schemes and for railway development, which are so necessary to lay the foundations of agricultural prosperity. One great advantage South Africa does possess in contrast to other parts of the Continent, namely a healthy climate offering few disabilities to European settlement.

CHAPTER THREE

THE FIRST SIXTY YEARS, 1652-1712

(A) *Jan van Riebeeck, 1652-1662*

When Jan van Riebeeck landed on the shores of Table Bay in April, 1652, as the first Commander of the Cape settlement, he carried with him precise instructions from the Council of Seventeen. He was to build a fort for the protection of the settlement and its water supply, to make a garden for the provisioning of the Company's ships, to establish good relations with the natives in order to obtain cattle from them and to maintain a regular correspondence with the Directors. A small fort was soon constructed on the site of the new General Post Office at Cape Town and a garden was begun at once, but for four or five years the little settlement hovered on the brink of ruin in its capacity as a refreshment station for the victualling of Dutch ships going to and coming from the East Indies.

To supplement the produce of the garden nine married men were released from the service of the Company in 1657. Each man received 13½ morgen of land free of land tax for twelve years in the Liesbeeck valley, where they were to remain for at least twenty years. This innovation, so important in its results, did not mean that the Company was in favour of colonization, for these so-called free burghers were officially regarded as mere purveyors of corn and wine to supplement the supplies that were produced by the Company, which restricted their activities in many directions. They had to sell the fruits of their labours to the Company at fixed prices; they were not allowed to trade with the Hottentots; they could not sell their produce to visiting ships—at the time some 25 a year—till they had been in the harbour for three days; they were not allowed to grow tobacco. In 1658 they protested at the price at which they had to sell their corn and obtained some slight relief, but their activities were still much curtailed. Nevertheless, these farmers of Rondebosch may be regarded as the real founders of white South Africa, though only one of the nine has left descendants in the country.

Another important step was taken in 1658, when slaves were first introduced in considerable numbers, 170 being taken from a captured Portuguese ship and nearly 200 being imported from

the Guinea Coast. The majority were retained by the Company, but some few were sold to the free burghers at prices ranging from £4 to £8 each. Later slaves were brought from Madagascar and Delagoa Bay and, from 1667, Asiatics were introduced, some as slaves and others as political prisoners, from the Dutch East Indies. Thus, to European burghers, Negro slaves and detribalised Hottentots, were added Mohammedan Asiatics as inhabitants of the Cape settlement. Miscegenation began and before the end of the century most of the slave children were half-castes. Thus did the Cape Coloured People emerge in the early days of the Colony. In *A History of South Africa*, Professor Eric A. Walker has written, 'All the economic and social problems which exercise South Africa to-day had begun to take shape before van Riebeeck's eyes. For, in South Africa at least, there is nothing whereof it may be said, "See, this is new".'

During the ten years of van Riebeeck's rule exploration was encouraged in search of the legendary Monomatapa and of the more tangible Hottentot tribes from whom to obtain cattle, but there was no inducement on the part of the Company to expand the settlement though the insistent demand for beef threatened to trample down the new frontier, a hedge and a fence of poles, set up by van Riebeeck. After the departure of the Cape's first Commander in 1662 the work of exploration continued and new cattle runs were started away from the Cape Peninsula at Saldanha Bay and at Vishoek in the Hottentots-Holland region.

The seventeen years between the departure to Batavia of van Riebeeck, who laid so well the foundations of European civilization in South Africa, and the arrival of the next noteworthy Commander, Simon van der Stel in 1679, were years of slow, though troubled progress. The war between the British and the Dutch that began in 1665 led the Company to realise that the almost defenceless Cape was a possession of strategic importance. Therefore the foundation stone of the present Castle was laid with some ceremony in the New Year of 1666, though another war, that against the French in 1672, had been fought before the Castle was first occupied eight years after the laying of the foundation stone. It was not completed till the beginning of the eighteenth century when Holland was again involved in war against France.

In 1675 the burgher members of the High Court of Justice, speaking on behalf of the 64 free men, petitioned the Company for the removal of restrictions on trade, the grant of more land at Hottentots-Holland and cheaper rice, but their list of grievances received but scant attention, for competition was simply not

tolerated by the Company, and the representatives of the burghers were reminded of their judicial duties.

After the first scuffling affair, a so-called Hottentot War, that dragged on from 1658 to 1660, the Hottentots recognized the loss of their lands in the Licsbeeck valley, but much bickering continued with the Hottentots and the Bushmen till 1677, when the two cattle-owning peoples united to attack the nomadic hunters. By this time too some Hottentot clans had withdrawn into the interior, while the break-up of others, which had begun with the loss of their cattle, was hastened by their contraction of European diseases.

(B) Simon van der Stel, 1679-1699

To Simon van der Stel, who ruled the Cape first as Commander and from 1691 as Governor, the settlement owes as much as it does to Jan van Riebeeck, its founder, for to him fell the task of carrying out the new policy of the Company in attempting to make of the Cape a genuine colony. He had been born in Mauritius in 1639, his father being Governor of the island at the time, but he was educated in Holland. His wife, who did not accompany her husband to the Cape, was Johanna Six, a member of the great merchant family of Amsterdam, the patrons of Rembrandt. At one time or another his four sons were at the Cape—Adriaan, who ultimately became Governor of Amboyna; Cornelis, who was lost at sea off Madagascar; Willem Adriaan, who succeeded his father as governor; and Frans, who marrying into the Wessels family became a farmer in the Eerste River valley.

The Seventeen chose Simon van der Stel to introduce the policy of colonizing the Cape by encouraging the settlement of more free burghers in what had hitherto been little more than a refreshment station for supplying the Company's vessels. This change of policy was dictated by fear of the aggression of King Louis XIV of France, who had fought two long wars against the Dutch between the years 1667 and 1679, and also by the unsatisfactory state of the cattle trade with the Hottentots. On the one hand the Company desired to reduce the size of the garrison at Cape Town while strengthening its hold on the colony, while on the other it wished to increase the food supply of the settlement without additional expense to itself. These were the factors that induced the Directors to depart from their original policy and thus did the forty years after 1679 become the most vital in the early history of the Cape.

Soon after his arrival the Commander founded Stellenbosch in the valley of the Eerste River and by May, 1680, eight families

were settled along the river. Their farms were granted to them in full ownership but were to revert to the Company should they not be worked at any time. The valley soon supported a flourishing community; the Directors sent out both Dutch and German settlers and many of the Company's servants left its employ to become free burghers in the new era that was opening for the Cape. In 1682 van der Stel appointed a Court of Heemraden at Stellenbosch to try petty civil cases, with authority to raise a small local tax for the care of the roads and the water supply and to levy a *corvée* of waggons and slaves for public purposes. The original court consisted of four free burghers, Gerrit van der Byl, Henning Huising, Hans Grimp and Hendrik Elberts; all were landowners in the district, appointed for a year and half were to retire annually after presenting to the Commander a double list of their proposed successors. In the same year van der Stel had also set up a petty court at Cape Town consisting of two officials and two burghers appointed annually to hear civil disputes of a minor nature, litigants having the right of appeal to the High Court.

After several commissioners of lesser importance had visited the colony there arrived in 1685 Hendrik Adriaan van Rheede, Lord of Mydrecht and Drakenstein, who was answerable only to the Council of Seventeen, who had given him a free hand to set in order the whole empire of the Dutch East India Company. In general he approved the policy van der Stel was following, but stipulated that in future the Council of Policy should consist of eight officials and that in addition two seats on the High Court of Justice should be filled by free burghers appointed annually by the Commander. The High Commissioner appointed a landdrost, one Johannes Mulder, to the new district of Stellenbosch, to watch over the Company's interests and to act as chairman of the Court of Heemraden. He was a paid official with both administrative and judicial duties. The form of local government inaugurated by van der Stel and modified by the special Commissioner remained in force for a century and a half, surviving the Company itself by many years. Van Rheede also introduced regulations concerning the slaves, of whom at the time there were nearly 300 at the Cape. The slave children, many of whom were of mixed breed, were to be taught reading and writing and given instruction in the Christian faith, while slaves were to be punished only after the consent of the authorities had been obtained. Half-breed slaves could obtain their freedom on reaching the age of twenty-five in the case of men and twenty-one for women, while negroes born in the colony could ask for their freedom.

age of forty on payment of £8 6s. 8d., if they had a good character and a knowledge of Dutch and professed Christianity! Marriage between whites and blacks was forbidden, but it was permissible for Europeans and half-castes to marry. Finally, the High Commissioner recommended that the officials be granted farms, but the Seventeen disallowed this in view of their regulation of 1668, which had forbidden the Company's servants to farm, though Simon van der Stel was allowed to retain the farm of nearly 900 morgen that van Rheede had granted to him at Wynberg and which he had named Constantia, probably after the young daughter of the visiting Commissioner.

In 1685, soon after the departure of the Lord of Mydrecht for the East, Simon van der Stel left the Castle with a considerable retinue of Europeans and their servants, in search of the Namaqualand copper deposits. Two earlier expeditions had failed to reach the copper hills, but on this occasion van der Stel, who was away from the seat of government for five months, reached the Koperberg at O'okiep, where he heard natives tell of the great river in the North—to be known in time as the Orange. Later he sent another expedition eastward which reached the present district of Prince Albert (1689).

In 1688 the Company's plans for the colonization of the Cape were aided indirectly by the policy of Holland's enemy, King Louis XIV of France, who in 1685 revoked the Edict of Nantes by which his grandfather, Henry IV, had granted a measure of religious and political toleration to his Protestant subjects (1598). Some thousands of Huguenots had left France to find new homes in England, Holland, Brandenburg and Switzerland even before the revocation, but in the few years following 1688 over 40,000 more left France, and many of them found their way to Holland. To some of these the Seventeen offered a free passage to the Cape, a grant of land in freehold and the loan of the necessary equipment for farming provided they stayed at the Cape for at least five years. The first parties totalling 151 individuals arrived in 1688 and 1689 in seven ships varying in size from 600 to 900 tons each. In the next few years they were joined by more of their co-religionists to the number of about fifty. Most of the Huguenots, nearly all of whom were young and married, were either viticulturalists or skilled artisans and were of a better social class than the new Dutch and German settlers. Though the Huguenots and the Dutch had much in common through their Calvinistic beliefs, France was feared at this time and so van der Stel interspersed the Huguenots among the earlier settlers in the valley of the Berg River at Drakenstein,

French Hoek and Paarl. Some ten years later Wagenmaker's Vallei (Wellington) and the Land of Waveren (Tulbagh) were also settled partly by Huguenots. Despite their repeated protests, van der Stel continued to follow the policy of repression of both the French language and nationality, a policy that was quite understandable since Holland and also Britain were again fighting France in the War of the Grand Alliance (1688-1697). In a comparatively short time the Huguenots were absorbed into the Dutch population. This was due to other factors in addition to the Company's policy of dispersing them among the Dutch colonists and to the fact that they both belonged to Calvinistic churches: they formed but a small part—about one-sixth—of the total European population and in the struggle against Willem Adriaan van der Stel in the opening years of the eighteenth century both the French and Dutch colonists drew more closely together on the common ground of opposition to the unpopular policy of the Governor. The influence of the Huguenots in South Africa has often been over estimated, but they materially increased the small white population of the colony and, moreover, they did much to improve the quality of Cape wine. To-day little trace remains of French influence in South Africa beyond a few place names in the Cape Province and the names of many South African families: among the Huguenots who came to the Cape with the first parties were people with such well-known surnames—to mention only a few—as Marais, Fouché, Pinard (now Pienaar), Mesnard (now Minnaar), Roux, Joubert, de Villicrs, Crosnier (now Cronje), de Clercq (now de Klerk), Malherbe, du Plessis and du Toit.

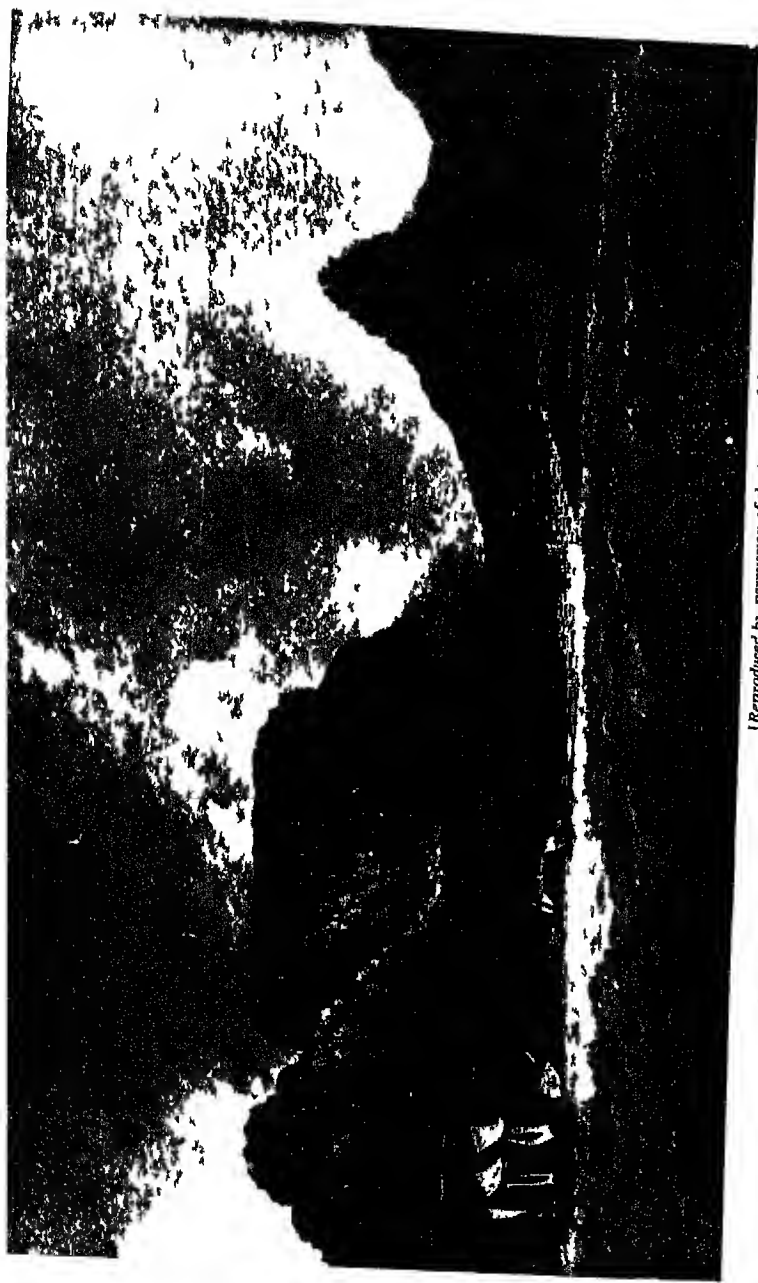
Despite certain outward signs of prosperity, during the long governorship of van der Stel all was not well with the economic life of the colony, for as it developed the supply exceeded the demand for most agricultural products, while the many trading restrictions continued to bear heavily upon the free burghers. There was a special burden in the practice of leasing the right of retailing certain commodities to a few individuals. This practice had been well established as early as 1673 and applied not only to brandy and wine, but also to such necessities as bread and meat. To the Company this system provided at once the simplest way of controlling local trade and also the easiest means of raising local revenue, but it killed all freedom of trade and hampered the initiative of the increasingly important class of free burghers. Van der Stel's experiments to encourage the production of wool were disappointing in their results, but he encouraged the planting of trees, particularly oaks, and the

lands as well as at Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, for timber had been cut down wastefully since the first days of the settlement. Another constant source of trouble with which van der Stel had to contend was the illicit cattle trade carried on by the colonists with the Hottentots. It was more lucrative for the farmers than agriculture, with the result that all the laws against the trade proved ineffective and even before the end of van der Stel's rule the cattle farmer was developing into a semi-nomadic frontiersman—the trek boer—despite the increasingly severe penalties against both barter and trekking beyond the colonial frontier imposed by a disapproving government at Cape Town. In 1699 Simon van der Stel laid down the burden of governorship, leaving all these troubles to be dealt with by his son and successor Willem Adriaan, and retired to his beautiful estate of Constantia, where he died full of years and honours in 1712, having lived long enough to see that the Cape had grown from a mere refreshment station into a genuine colony.

(C) *Willem Adriaan van der Stel, 1699-1707*

Willem Adriaan van der Stel, whose governorship was to prove the stormiest in the rule of the Dutch East India Company at the Cape, owed his appointment in the first instance to the Directors' approval of the work his father had done in the Colony. He had been born in Batavia and, after many years in the service of the Company in its eastern possessions, had been made a magistrate at Amsterdam. He was a man of some ability and enterprise, who in the few years he was at the Cape settled the Land of Waveren, sent an expedition to Natal in search of timber, imported better breeds of sheep and tried though without success to start a silk industry, but the good that he did has been overshadowed naturally enough by his quarrel with the colonists, which came to a head in 1706 and was due in no small measure to certain defects of character that van der Stel had developed in the Company's service in the East, where corruption was rife. It is difficult to arrive at the exact truth of the matter, for many of the leading burghers were jealous of the van der Stel family, while some few of the Governor's most active opponents were themselves unpleasant characters. In view of the stir that the agitation against the Governor created in the little colony, it is as well to consider the causes of the dispute, which show that corruption was as prevalent at the Cape as elsewhere in the Company's empire though naturally on a smaller scale.

In 1699 the Directors had opened the cattle trade with the Hottentots to the free burghers, but in 1703 the Governor closed



[Reproduced by permission of the trustees of the National Maritime Museum Greenwich]
A VIEW OF TABLE BAY WITH THE ADVENTURE
Painting by Hodges official artist on Captain Cook's second voyage



[Copy by W. W. Battis.]

An ancient rock-engraving of a buffalo from Koffiefontein, Orange Free State.



Copy by W. W. Battis.

A beautiful group of polychrome eland belonging to the best period of Bushman Art from Ladybrand, Orange Free State.

it again (ostensibly because it caused trouble with the Hottentots, but actually to rid himself of the competition of the colonists) though it is true he was obliged to reopen it after a time. Nevertheless, in 1705 van der Stel's head gardener travelling as a botanist accompanied an official expedition and obtained cattle for the Governor. In the twelve months from March, 1706, over ten thousand sheep were slaughtered in the colony, of which less than three thousand were provided by the free burghers, the rest being supplied by the Governor and other leading officials.

Another source of complaint was the fact that the Governor and his chief subordinates had all been granted farms in 1700 by a visiting commissioner, one Wouter Valckenier, and the Governor in particular was accused of using the Company's servants, slaves and material on his farm, Vergelegen, which was over five hundred morgen in extent. Here he had half-a-million vine stocks (a quarter of the total number in the colony), eighteen thousand sheep and a thousand cattle. He spent weeks at his farm, even when the Cape was in danger of foreign attack; as evidenced by the increase of the Cape garrison, when Holland and Britain were involved once again in hostilities against France in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713). The three van der Stels and the governing clique of some seven or eight officials owned about a third of the farming area of the colony. All told, they had about twelve thousand morgen, not counting their cattle stations, sufficient that is to supply the whole Cape market at a time when there were about four hundred free burghers actually owning land in the colony. Simon van der Stel was still at Constantia and had appropriated to his sole use the whole peninsula from Constantia to Cape Point, while his son, Frans, was farming at Hottentots-Holland and Elsevier, the Secunde, was at Elsenburg and van Kalden, the Minister, at Zandvliet, to mention only two of the officials farming on an extensive scale.

The Governor too was guilty of numerous corrupt practices. The burghers could not obtain permits to sell their produce until that of the governing clique had been sold. Then the wine monopoly was put up for sale in one lot and Phÿffer, a confidant of the Governor, bought the sole right to retail wine. This led immediately to a petition being drawn up against van der Stel and all his works, as the only market for the sale of wine was the local one. In fact, since it was only possible at the Cape to make a fortune at all, albeit a modest one, by the sale of meat, corn and wine to the Company for the supply of its ships and garrison, the free burghers earned a

were allowed to continue unchecked they would become superfluous.

The opposition, however, was by no means disinterested, for the Governor's critics were led by Henning Huising, his nephew Adam Tas, and van der Heiden. The former had lost a neat contract, which had been given to four of the Governor's supporters, while the latter had been accused of one of the charges brought against the Governor, namely that of stealing cattle from the Hottentots. The best educated of the three, Adam Tas, prepared a petition, which was forwarded to the authorities in Batavia. It contained the signatures of 63 men, of whom 31 were Frenchmen who disliked the Governor on account of his efforts to incorporate them with the Dutch colonists, while the others were mostly Stellenbosch farmers adversely affected by the Governor's closure of the cattle trade. The Council of India forwarded one copy of the Tas Memorial to the Directors in Amsterdam and another to the Governor of the Cape. On receiving it van der Stel lost no time in inviting the citizens of Cape Town to the Castle, where they were regaled with beer and tobacco. Part of a testimonial extolling the virtues of Willem Adriaan van der Stel as Governor of the Colony was read in an indistinct voice and, not being directly concerned, many of the burghers signed it. Ultimately, it was signed by 240 of the 550 free-men at the Cape. Adam Tas and van der Heiden were then arrested and Huising and three others were sent to the Netherlands, and confessions were extorted from thirteen of the signatories to the Tas Memorial, saying that their accusations were false and that they had been forced to sign the petition against their will. However, despite the testimonial in his favour, the Directors recalled the Governor and several other officials, as they feared the States-General might interfere in the internal affairs of the Company. The Governor and his brother left Cape Town in April, 1708, on the same ship as Adam Tas and van der Heiden and thus the dispute was transferred from the Cape to Amsterdam, where after a fair, though somewhat belated, hearing van der Stel was dismissed from the Company's service.

In the meantime the Company had forfeited the Vergelegen estate which was sold in four lots, while Frans van der Stel was expelled from the Company's possessions though his father was left in undisturbed occupation of Constantia till his death in 1712. Moreover, the Seventeen prohibited private trading on the part of the officials in cattle, corn, wine and other commodities and they were also forbidden to own or lease land. This and the way in which the agitation encouraged the fusion of the French and

Dutch elements into a single nation were, perhaps, the two good results of the quarrel, which, unfortunately, had other effects of a less beneficial character. From this time the Seventeen reverted to their original policy of giving no encouragement to immigration, and in the eighteenth century it became a mere trickle. On the other hand the policy of the Company assisted the dispersal of the burghers into the interior, for they were left free to indulge in the cattle trade provided they did not impinge on the Company's privileges; and also the Company's cattle runs beyond the Hottentots-Holland Mountains were sold to free burghers. Thus was the dispersal of the colonists into the interior of Southern Africa begun. In the years after 1707 it was neither the citizens of the presentable little city of Cape Town nor the agricultural farmers of the surrounding districts that were to play the foremost part in the history of the colony, but the pastoral farmers on the ever-changing frontier.

CHAPTER FOUR

DEPRESSION AND DISPERSION, 1707-1778

A) *A Vital Decision*

In the few years following the recall of W. A. van der Stel the colony suffered two calamities. During the rule of his successor, Louis van Assenburgh, who was a connection of the van der Stel family, much of the little town of Stellenbosch was destroyed in a fire that occurred in December, 1710. The next year the Governor died and the Secunde, Willem Helot, acted as Governor for over two years. It was during this period, in 1713, that the Cape settlement was ravaged by smallpox, which paralysed industry and in a few months decimated the nearby Hottentot clans and killed off about a quarter of the population of Cape Town, the remoter country districts fortunately escaping the worst effects of the scourge.

A new Governor, Mauritz Pasques de Chavonnes, a man of some ability, arrived in 1714 to find the colony suffering from the same economic difficulties as of old, for despite the imposition of sundry new taxes on cattle runs, stamps, wine and corn, revenue lagged far behind expenditure. In 1716 the Directors, wishing to bridge the gap between the two and at the same time to enhance the prosperity of the colony, presented a formidable list of questions to the Governor and Council of Policy for them to answer. Among many others they were asked the all-important question whether European farm hands were likely to prove more satisfactory as a source of labour supply than slaves. In other words they were asked whether it would be better for the future of the colony that it be based on free white labour or on servile coloured labour. In their report to the Directors in 1717 the Council, all save one member, condemned white labour as both lazy and incompetent and as being more expensive than slave labour. The Governor's brother, Dominique de Chavonnes, who was in command of the Cape garrison, alone spoke up for the employment of free men and thus for the creation of a larger home market, arguing with some force that white artisans were better workers than coloured slaves and pointing out that because they earned more they also spent more. He showed too that with the increase of the burgher population the colony would be more

adequately defended and that the absence of slaves would encourage the development of habits of industry and lead to smaller farms that could be worked properly. His arguments had little effect on his fellow councillors and he remained in a minority of one, for in his views Captain de Chavonnes was more than a century before his time. Thus was the vital decision taken by the majority to recommend the increased importation of slaves rather than European artisans and thus were the problems of a tropical dependency fostered in the temperate climate of the Cape, for though slavery itself passed away in the thirties of the next century its bad effects have persisted in South Africa unto this day.

In his time de Chavonnes experimented with wool and various crops, but the former was of poor quality, while olives, coffee sugar and tobacco all failed for one reason or another, and the silkworms that were to form the basis of a new industry did not prosper. It was at this time too, in 1721, that the Company occupied Delagoa Bay after its abandonment by the Portuguese. No doubt this station was intended to take the place of Mauritius, which had been abandoned by the Company in 1710 and promptly taken by the French, but the settlement on the East Coast suffered one misfortune after another and was given up after nine years and the Portuguese came back again. The Governor died in 1724 and the next fourteen or fifteen years, when one mediocrity followed another as governor in quick succession, were years of almost unrelieved depression and gloom in the uneventful story of the eighteenth century Cape.

(B) Hendrik Swellengrebel, 1739-1750

The next governor of note, Hendrik Swellengrebel, was a member of a Russian family that had long been in the service of the Company and of all the governors of the Cape the only one to be born in the colony, where his father was for many years in the Company's employ. Like many governors both before and after his time Swellengrebel came to know much of the restlessness and quarrelsomeness of frontiers. All along the colonial frontier much of which was still undefined there was disorder in the years from 1737 to 1739, when Bushmen and, less frequently, Hottentots raided farms and frontiersmen organized commandos to deal with the raiders. In the latter year heavy losses were inflicted by a burgher commando on the Bushmen in much the same manner as an earlier commando had done in 1715. In fact, since that time it had appeared as though the central government was leaving the defence of the borders to the frontiersmen, so that in time they came to look upon themselves not only as their own defence but

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a law unto themselves. In this same year (1739) one Etienne bier, a runaway soldier, who had attempted to raise a revolt among dissatisfied burghers at the Paarl, was captured and executed and thereafter yet another ineffective edict was published against intercouse with the native tribes.

Prior to Swellengrebel's appointment the Moravian Brethren, a protestant sect with a considerable following in Bohemia and parts of Germany, sent George Schmidt to the Cape as a missionary to work among the Hottentots. He founded a flourishing mission at Baviaan's Kloof, to be known later as Genadendal, where he laboured from 1737 to 1744 to teach the Hottentots the christian faith and to raise their standards of living and work. However, when he wished to baptize some of his converts, he incurred the enmity not only of the ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church but also of the colonists, who did not look on missionary endeavour with much favour. There was no religious toleration in the colony and so George Schmidt, who was a Lutheran, was forced to abandon his work and return to Europe. It was not till almost half a century later that the Moravians returned to South Africa and took up their work at Genadendal again.

In 1743 Baron Gustaf Willem van Imhoff stayed at the Cape for some time, while on his way to the East to succeed the corrupt Alkenier as Governor-General of the Dutch Indies. In an endeavour to check the dispersion of the colonists both eastward and northward and to keep the colony within bounds, the visiting commissioner proposed to grant burghers sixty morgen of land in freehold round each farmstead on payment of £10 to £15 in cash, the rest of the land to be held on the loan place system as heretofore. He proposed too that a Court of Heemraden should be established in the lower Breede valley at a spot soon to be called Swellendam and in 1745 the Governor also appointed a magistardrost to these parts. In this way did the government somewhat reluctantly attempt to keep up with its wandering subjects. The Church tried to do the same; in 1743 a church and a school had been built at Roodezand (Tulbagh). This was approved of by van Imhoff and so in 1745 another church was built at Zwartland (Malmesbury). From 1742 the Company's vessels began to use Simon's Bay as a winter anchorage owing to the dangers to be encountered in Table Bay when the north-westerners were raging. In 1722 during the governorship of de Chavonnes six of the Company's ships and three English East Indiamen had been driven ashore in Table Bay with a loss of nearly seven hundred men, while in 1737 another eight vessels were shipwrecked with

a loss of over two hundred lives. The Baron approving of this innovation Simonstown was founded in 1743, being named after Simon van der Stel, the greatest of all the Company's governors.

Baron van Imhoff like Dominique de Chavonnes before him, reported on the evils of slavery. 'I believe it would have been for better, had we, when this Colony was founded, commenced with Europeans and brought them hither in such numbers that hunger and want would have forced them to work,' he wrote. 'But having imported slaves every common or ordinary European becomes a gentleman and prefers to be served than to serve We have in addition the fact that the majority of the farmers in this Colony are not farmers in the real sense of the word, but owners of plantations, and that many of them consider it a shame to work with their own hands.' At the time slaves were of three kinds: Negroes, Malays and Half-castes, the Peninsula and the Berg valley, in other words the western part of the colony, being dependent on this slave labour. Though manumission was not uncommon, slave laws had become more barbarous and punishments consequently more severe, while all conscious efforts to Christianize the slaves had ceased at the Cape. Their number was steadily increasing, for by 1756 when the total free burgher population numbered 5,123 the slaves outnumbered them by more than twelve hundred.

In 1746 the new district of Swellendam called after the Governor and his wife, Helena ten Damme, was separated from Stellenbosch, its eastern boundary being fixed just beyond Mossel Bay, but it was not to be the frontier for long, for though the men of Cape Town and the West looked outwards to the sea whence the fleets came that were their livelihood, the eyes of the farmers in the fast expanding East were turned towards the interior of Africa. In 1751 the Governor was allowed to retire at his own request and he was succeeded by Ryk Tulbagh, who had married the Governor's sister, Elizabeth Swellengrebel.

(C) *Ryk Tulbagh, 1751-1771*

As a boy of seventeen Ryk Tulbagh arrived at the Cape in 1718, where he was to serve the Company faithfully and diligently for over half a century. His indeed was a fine character and his kindness, courtesy and generosity made him the best loved of all the Dutch governors of the Cape. Governor de Chavonnes had been the first to recognize his ability, when he made him secretary to the Council of Policy. In 1739 he became Secunde and finally the Seventeen appointed him to succeed his brother-in-law. The

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le to check the corruption of his subordinates and to erect any official tendency to introduce into the Cape the ous way of life in the East by the imposition of sumptuary

Twice during the rule of Tulbagh was the colony assailed : smallpox scourge, first in 1755 when more than a thousand e died in Cape Town including very many slaves and again e years later when there was a less serious outbreak.

During the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) Great Britain France were fighting in North America and India. Holland t neutral power in this war, which had a considerable effect ie Cape. For a time shipping was frightened away from 1 African waters, but from 1759 both French and English ls rounding Africa sailed into the neutral harbour of Table

During the temporary war boom the Cape farmers could nand whatever prices they chose to ask for their wine, meat corn, but it was too good to last and in the late 'sixties the) was again in the doldrums of an economic depression, for gnerns resented the high prices demanded of them and fewer gn ships put into the dangerous waters of Table Bay. Neverthe-

under the benevolent rule of 'Father' Tulbagh, Cape n itself was improved in many directions, as is borne out by eords of travellers that visited the colony at the time. Among 1 may be mentioned the Abbé de la Caille, a French monomer, who was at the Cape from 1751 to 1753 charting the hern heavens, and the Swedish naturalist, Andrew Sparrman;

Captain James Cook, the English explorer of the Pacific, l the first of several visits to Cape Town in 1771, when Bern de Saint-Pierre, a French man of letters, wrote his pleasing rription of the kindly old governor, whom he met on his way c to France from Mauritius. It was during these years that

Burgher Watch Tower in Greenmarket Square (that now ses the Michaelis Collection of old Dutch paintings) was built ublic expense and that the South African Public Library was un with a collection of books bequeathed to the town by V. Dessin, the secretary to the Orphan Chamber.

Ryk Tulbagh planned two exploration parties, the first in 2 which explored the territory between Mossel Bay and the Kei ver, and the second in 1760, which went to Namaqualand and ched Angra Pequena Bay, two hundred miles to the north of

Orange River, that was so named in 1779 by Colonel Robert rdon, commander of the Cape garrison. In 1770, the year ore his death, in an effort to retain some hold over the appearing subjects of the Company, Tulbagh extended the

(D) The Evolution of the Trekboer

Sufficient has been written already in this chapter to indicate that one of the chief problems with which governors of the eighteenth century had to deal was the growth of a new colony by dispersion far beyond the confines of the old colony of settlement. From time to time the Company extended the borders of the colony as the cattle farmers trekked farther and farther into the interior despite the prohibitions of the government. These men became trekboers for a variety of reasons. In the first place geographical conditions favoured dispersion, for there were plenty of passes across the mountain ranges into the interior where the land was good enough for the much needed pasturage for their cattle and sheep.

The climate too was not an obstacle to European expansion as it was both in Canada and Australia. Moreover, the Hottentots offered no resistance and the Bushmen were only a nuisance. The loan place system of land tenure introduced in 1714 by which farms of 3,000 morgen (over 6,000 acres) were leased by the Company at an annual rental of £2.10.0 encouraged trekking when coupled with the fact that these loan places were seldom divided, younger sons preferring to push onwards to get farms for themselves for the asking or the taking, for farms were not always registered nor were the dues always paid on them. From this time much of the history of South Africa is connected with the haphazard methods of Boer land tenure. It is true that these men desired to escape government control and so went into the interior whose nature and difficulties they knew as a result of having been on numerous hunting expeditions, but, though their complaints against the economic policy of the Company were loud and unceasing, trekking was in the main the natural result of poor soil and uncertain climate rather than political at this stage. In the interior they became self-sufficing and their children grew up in isolation and came to like it.

In two generations the cattle farmers pushed the frontier forward from the Breede to the Fish, for in July, 1775, Tulbagh's successor, Baron van Plettenberg, had to extend the frontier to the Fish River. In September, 1778, the Governor visited the frontier, where he found the Bantu tribesmen and European farmers living in close proximity to one another. He planted a beacon near the site of Colesberg to mark the north-east limit of the colony and persuaded several lesser Xosa chiefs to agree that the Fish River should be the boundary between Black and White. This continual expansion had repercussions on the relations between the Europeans on the one hand and the Hottentots.

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men and Bantu on the other, for each new frontier in its gnition of past extension failed to prevent further expansion. The bulk of the Hottentots remained within the colonial ers and began to disappear into the ranks of the coloured ilation, though some of the Hottentot clans withdrew before European advance, as in the case of Adam Kok's clan at tberg that withdrew to Khamiesberg. Here he gathered breed Hottentots around him, who were to form the nucleus ie Griqua tribes that were to play a not inconsiderable part ie story of South Africa in the middle years of the nineteenth ury. The relations between the frontier farmers and the men were far less satisfactory. In the ten years after 1754 e were frequent Bushmen raids on the farms each followed punishment commando that killed many of the raiders and e apprentices of the captured women and children. In 1774 Council of Policy organized a large commando under Godlieb erman that ranged over three hundred miles of the border- and, for the loss of one burgher, took over two hundred oners, most of whom were apprenticed to members of the mando, and killed over five hundred Bushmen. It was a sorry ness and by no means the end of the matter as for years to e these raids and counter-commandos continued.

The clash with the Bantu in the region of the Fish opened a chapter in South African history, that was to prove both ; and stormy, for both the Bantu and the Boers were pastoral- whose wealth lay in their herds of cattle and sheep and whose f object in life was the search for water and pastures new. it made the clash all the more severe was the fact that the new ern frontier lay in an area of uncertain rainfall and drought. reover, to intensify the struggle the area of unreliable rainfall behind the Boers and that of more plentiful rainfall behind the tu. In the struggle that followed it was the frontiersman that the advantage, for his horse gave him greater mobility, his gave him an irresistible fire-power and his tented wagon bled him to turn conquest into settlement by bringing up his ily and household goods, such as they were. On the frontier he East an economy developed in which self-sufficiency was distinguishing mark and not profit-making as in the older st. Cattle bartering with the Hottentots, hunting in a rich ie country and grazing formed the day's work.

The trekboers in the course of a generation or two came to much influenced by their way of life and its hardships. Their toral, almost nomadic, mode of life made them self reliant, istent and courageous. These qualities were to stand them in

good stead on a vaster stage in the next century, when their sons and grandsons carried the frontier of European civilization at a bound beyond the Vaal, but the isolation and difficulties of frontier life also made them limited in their outlook, impatient of all forms of control and so intensely individualistic that it became difficult to unite them in effective co-operation. They lost much of their civilization on the way to the Promised Land. Some could write, still more could sign their names, many read the Bible, especially the Old Testament, into which they read a justification of themselves, their beliefs and all their works, but for the rest learning and the affairs of the great world were closed books to them. Nevertheless, when all is said and done, the evolution of the trekboer, as Professor de Kiewiet has pointed out in his *History of South Africa*, is the story of a successful, not of an unsuccessful, adaptation to conditions in South Africa, where it was easier at the time to carve out a farm than to make a career and where capital and skilled labour were scarce and land was cheap and plentiful.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE LAST YEARS OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1778-1795

Baron van Plettenberg, 1771-1785

Joachim van Plettenberg, for three years Acting Governor subsequently Governor of the Cape, declared the Fish River the boundary of the colony and, as he thought, obtained the recognition of this frontier by sundry Xosa chiefs, but, though the Bantu tribal system was strong, in dealing with chiefs it was not difficult to know exactly where authority lay. Hardly had Governor returned to Cape Town than the newly proclaimed frontier was once more in a state of unrest. In 1779 there began the so-called First Kaffir War, when Xosa tribesmen killed some tentots and made off with European-owned cattle. A prolonged series of skirmishes followed culminating in the appointment of Adriaan van Jaarsveld as leader of a burgher commando which drove the Xosas across the Fish and captured over five thousand head of cattle (1781). Whatever incidents give rise to frontier disturbances at any particular time, the words of Professor M. Macmillan are true of them all: 'The little understood First Wars are properly to be regarded as the struggle between the streams of colonizers for the possession of valuable land.' This struggle was complicated by the fact that European and Bantu ideas on the holding of land differed fundamentally, the former being based on ownership, while according to Bantu customary law a chief could neither sell nor cede land but merely had the right of using it in a particular way. For long this difference of conception was to be a stumbling block to peace in South-Eastern Africa.

In 1779 dissatisfaction with the Company again came to a head when the Burgher Petition was drawn up and signed by four hundred men, all of whom lived near Cape Town. The government of the Company had become unpopular for many reasons. The colony was top-heavy with officials, many of whom being poorly paid were corrupt and indulged in private trading, and in the year of the petition there were three officials to every six burghers. The government as a whole was inefficient and the Company's business methods were old-fashioned and its books

badly kept. The free burghers still had no direct share in the government of the colony, while the numerous trading restrictions bore heavily on them, checking the development of trade and preventing the creation of industry, so that all through the century the colony was drained of its currency to pay for the excess of imports over its paltry exports. In the 'seventies times were particularly bad at the Cape, for the Company was declining, trade was slack and the officials were as corrupt as of old, and revolution was in the air elsewhere, for the English colonies in America were in successful revolt against the trading restrictions imposed on them by the mother-country. In their petition to the Council of Seventeen the burghers gave an account of the unsatisfactory condition of the Cape and made numerous demands, both political and economic, for the betterment of the settlement. In fact the political tone of this petition was something new in Cape affairs. They said little against the Governor, though he had deported eighteen men to date, but the Fiscal, W. C. Boers, and other senior officials were called to book in no uncertain terms. Among their political demands was one for the codification of the laws and another demanding that seven burghers should be members of the Council of Policy, when matters affecting the colonists were under discussion. They proposed that two of these burghers should retire annually and that their places should be filled by the nominees of the burgher councillors. They asked too for equal representation with the officials on the High Court of Justice and for the right of appeal to the Seventeen in Holland instead of to the Council of India in Batavia. On the economic side among many other demands they asked, as before, for the abolition of private trading on the part of officials, the grant of free trade with foreign ships, Holland and the Dutch Indies, and a reduction in farm rents.

Having studied the petition the Seventeen asked the Governor for his views on the questions raised by the petitioners and in his reply van Plettenberg drew attention to the fact that only four hundred of the three thousand burghers at the Cape had signed it. Nevertheless, he was prepared to grant the burghers the same number of representatives as the officials had on the High Court; but he was opposed to them having representation on the Council of Policy. He urged that officials should be paid better salaries and was in favour of the laws being defined. Moreover, he offered to resign should the Directors desire to appoint another governor. By the time his reply reached Holland the country was involved in the general European conflict that had developed out of the American War of Independence.

tioners obtained was the grant of six seats on the High Court. satisfied with their meagre gains the organizers of the petition t a deputation to the States-General in 1785 with the result that her concessions were made in the following year. The colonists e granted a few more economic concessions of doubtful value, example, the right to export their wine to Holland in the npany's ships; and also a committee of the High Court con- ng of three officials and three burghers chosen by the Council Policy was given authority to fix prices, suggest new forms of ation, control public works and act as a municipal council for e Town, but none of these reforms really touched the deep- ed roots of the trouble.

Great Britain's quarrel with her North American colonies ed into active hostilities in 1775 and soon this civil war developed a general European conflict involving fighting on the high and in the East as well as in America, for France declared war Britain in 1779 to be followed by Holland in the next year and, ewhat later, by Spain. Holland's part in the conflict had a siderable influence on the fortunes of the Company and its lement at the Cape. In view of her increasing commitments in ia where Warren Hastings was engaged in consolidating the sessions that Clive had won in the Seven Years' War, Britain d out an expedition to capture the Cape to prevent it being l by the French, who were still her chief rivals in India. In l a British fleet bound for the Cape under Commodore G. nstone encountered a French fleet commanded by Admiral de ren near the Cape Verde Islands, where the indecisive battle 'orto Prayo was fought. After the engagement had been called both fleets pushed on to the Cape, which the French reached . De Suffren landed a considerable force and Johnstone, ing seized several Dutch merchantmen in Saldanha Bay, d on to India in July, leaving the French in occupation of the e, where they remained till 1784. In these years the Cape yed another war boom and so lively did Cape Town become it earned the name of 'Little Paris,' but the prosperity was ely a fictitious one, for, though the free burghers had a ready 'ket for their produce, the Company had to provide for the port of the French troops and this was a great expense to the e Government, whose expenditure during the years of the ch occupation was four times the revenue derived from colony. Moreover, the British swept Dutch shipping off seas with the result that the Company paid no dividends after 2, while the success of the American colonists against Great ain led to increased dissatisfaction with the restrictive and

unenterprising rule of the Company at the Cape; for were not the free burghers suffering from exactly the same type of trading restrictions as the British Government had imposed on their American colonies by the Navigation Acts? In fact Holland's part in the conflict that came to an end with the Treaty of Versailles in 1783 made it certain that the Company would never recover financially from the strain of these three years of naval warfare in eastern waters.

The record of van Plettenberg's governorship makes dismal reading, but there was at least one bright feature, for it was during these years that Anthon Anreith, the sculptor, and Louis Thibault, the architect, were first fellow-workers at the Cape. Though unfortunately much of their work has been lost to us there still remain Anreith's magnificent pulpit in the old Dutch Church in Adderley Street, Cape Town, and the old Drostdy at Tulbagh designed by Thibault at a later date, as well as several exquisitely gabled homesteads in and near the Peninsula that were built at this time.

(B) Colonel C. J. van der Graaff, 1785-1791

Early in 1785 an engineer officer of the Dutch army, Colonel van der Graaff, arrived at the Cape to relieve van Plettenberg of the governorship and with instructions to strengthen the defences of the colony in view of the unsettled state of Europe. His short rule is largely the record of increased expenditure, for the building of the fortifications and the maintenance of a larger garrison coupled with the Governor's extravagance sent expenditure soaring up within three or four years from £25,000 to £120,000, while revenue remained less than a quarter of the latter figure. Trade was again bad and many of the officials continued to indulge in corrupt practices despite the recent reforms.

On the frontier the new district of Graaff Reinet, most of which fell between the Gamtoos and Fish Rivers, was formed 1786 and named after the Governor and his wife, but though Landdrost Woeke was established there he was able to do little more than issue edicts recalling all burghers to the colonial side of the Fish and forbidding the practice of going into Kaffirland to trade. These proclamations were mere empty threats since he had no police to enforce them and in 1789, the year of the French Revolution and of Washington's election as first President of the United States of America, trouble flared up anew on the eastern frontier. The Second Kaffir War (1789-1793) was, if anything, more inconclusive than the earlier one. The Xosa chief, Ndhlabi, who ruled in the name of his nephew, Gaika, crossed the Fish

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er into the Zuurveld, drove out the Boers and seized their cattle. He immediately called out a commando, but the Governor, who was feverishly completing his plans for the defence of the colony, sent H. C. Maynier as his representative to restore peace to the frontier. Maynier, who believed in Rousseau's doctrine of the 'noble savage' and had little liking for the rough and lawless frontiersmen, told the Xosa chiefs in August, 1789, that they might remain in the Zuurveld. The year 1790 was the lull before the storm, for in 1791, by which time Maynier had become Governor, hostilities broke out again, the result of a severe drought that affected pastoralists alike on both sides of the Fish. Maynier tried to maintain an uneasy peace, but a farmer, one Lindeque, organized a commando of his own and seized much booty from the Xosas. This provoked the Boers to invade the Zuurveld in greater numbers than before and several farmers were slain. Finally in 1793, with the approval of the Commissioners Nederburgh and Frijkenius, Maynier took the command himself and pushed eastward as far as the Buffalo River and only when last peace was made when Commissioner Sluysken forbade the Boer colonists or Xosas to cross the Fish, but the frontiersmen, in any instance, though not always, more sinned against than sinning, were greatly displeased—more especially with the enlightened Maynier, who with the scant forces at his command was anxious that they should both hear the voice of government and obey it.

Commissioners Nederburgh and Frijkenius, 1792-1793

In 1791, before an uncertain peace had been re-established on the frontier, van der Graaff returned to Holland to report on the state of the colony leaving the Secunde, J. G. Rhenius, in temporary charge. In the meantime the States-General had appointed a commission of inquiry to investigate the general condition of all the Company's possessions and the two Commissioners, the Advocate S. C. Nederburgh and Captain S. H. Frijkenius of the Dutch Navy, arrived at the Cape in 1792. In that year the expenditure was reduced by half to £63,000, but it was still double the revenue derived from the colony. Private trading by the officials, who were given reasonable salaries in lieu of their fees and perquisites, was checked, while the powers of the Independent Executive were curtailed and all public works were stopped. By means of increased taxation the revenue was raised by a quarter; a tax of £2 was imposed on every slave imported; the transfer of immovable property was raised from 2½% to 4%; a tax placed on vehicles used for pleasure and in the wine trade; a succession tax, paid by the purchaser, of 2½% on immovable property and 4% on movable property was introduced. This was

much resented, as auction sales were the most popular way of transacting business at the Cape. Finally a 5% duty was placed on goods imported or exported in ships that did not belong to the Company, while foreign ships were forbidden to land goods at the Cape at all. For the trade of the Dutch Empire was to be carried on by Dutchmen and in Dutch ships.

On the 1st February, 1793, the newly-established French Republic declared war on Great Britain and Holland who along with other powers formed the First Coalition. On the news of this reaching the Cape the two commissioners left hurriedly for Java in September, having appointed A. J. Sluysken, an official on his way home to Holland from the East, as Commissioner General in charge of a difficult situation both externally and internally. Sluysken upheld the *status quo* on the frontier where Maynier rightly blamed the frontiersmen for much of the perennial unrest. In the end, as a result of what they held to be the Company's weak frontier policy, the frontiersmen decided to submit no longer to the distant government at Cape Town that neither protected them nor allowed them to protect themselves and in February, 1795, the seething dissatisfaction came to a head, when Adriaan van Jaarsveld and J. C. Trigardt in command of forty burghers drove Maynier from his drostdy at Graaff Reinet and appointed a provisional landdrost and heemraden. Subsequently they proclaimed a republic with a National Assembly of its own of which van Jaarsveld was president. In June 1795 the Swellendam 'Nationals' followed suit and chose H. Steyn as president. These local risings against the Company's rule were essentially the outcome of the government's unpopular frontier policy, the influence of the distant French Revolution being slight.

(D) The First Capture of the Cape, 1795

In the same week as these goings-on at Swellendam, a British fleet reached the Cape. Its arrival was the result of events in Europe, where the French having overrun the Austrian Netherlands, invaded Holland towards the end of 1794. Amsterdam was captured in January of the next year and the Dutch fleet that was icebound was captured by a regiment of French cavalry! Many Hollanders sympathized with the principles of the French Revolution and so the Prince of Orange fled to England, while the Patriot Party came to terms with the French in May, 1795, promising to join them in the war against the British. Thus did Holland under its new name of the Batavian Republic become to all intents and purposes a vassal state of the aggressive French Republic. The Prince of Orange in exile at Kew asked the British Government to protect the Cape until he

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ht recover his throne and thus prevent the strategic halfway-se on the way to the East from falling into the hands of nce. This the Government was more than ready to do in order afeguard Great Britain's vital interests in India, where her ire founded by Clive and preserved by Hastings was soon to much extended by Wellesley.

The fleet that entered False Bay in June, 1795, consisted of vessels under the command of Admiral Sir G. Keith Elphinge, and it had on board a military force sixteen hundred ng commanded by General Sir J. H. Craig. The commanders ied with them a letter from the Prince of Orange to Sluysken ring him to surrender the Cape to the protection of Great ain, but though Sluysken and Colonel Gordon were both orters of the House of Orange they finally decided against endering the colony, as the Prince was no longer at the head ie Dutch Government as Stadtholder and as the majority of urchers, more especially the Nationals of Graaff Reinet and lendam, were in sympathy with the republican party in and. They knew too that the Batavian Republic was about ecome an ally of France, the enemy of Britain. Though the e bristled with guns, the troops at the disposal of Sluysken a motley collection of four hundred Dutch gunners, six red German mercenaries, twelve hundred burghers and a coloured troops. After the lengthy negotiations had come to ht, Craig landed his force on the shores of False Bay and ut much difficulty drove Colonel de Lille's troops from enberg. After another month's delay British reinforcements a number of five thousand arrived from Brazil under General e and then the British, scattering the Company's troops at erg, marched on Cape Town. Finally in view of the alliance en the Batavian and French Republics, the Treaty of nburg was signed on the 6th September, 1795, by which ment the colony was surrendered to Great Britain and the any's troops became prisoners of war. No alterations were made in the Cape laws, the taxes were to be reduced where ole and internal free trade was to be allowed.

luysken returned to Holland, while Elphinstone and Clarke on to India, leaving Craig at the Cape with nearly three and men. Graaff Reinet alone of the outlying districts was to acknowledge British rule and only did so after a Dutch nder Admiral Lucas surrendered to the British in Saldanha n August, 1796. Thus did the rule of the Dutch East India any at the Cape come to an end after 143 years, for when olony was again restored to Dutch rule in 1802 the Company

had ceased to exist. Thus did Great Britain assume temporary occupation of a colony with an area half as large again as that of England and Wales, with a free burgher population of 16,000 a third of whom lived in Cape Town, the rest being thinly scattered over the agricultural areas near the Cape Peninsula and the remoter pastoral regions of the interior. In addition to the free burghers there were at the time some 1,500 officials and 1,200 troops at the Cape; the slaves numbered 17,000 and the Hottentots within the borders of the colony another 4,000. It is interesting to note that at the end of the eighteenth century the proportion of Dutch blood in the European population was about 50%, German accounting for 27%, French 17% and other elements, chiefly Scandinavian, 6%. To these varied elements were soon to be added men and women of British stock.

(E) The Reasons for the decline of the Company

This is a suitable point at which to sum up the numerous reasons, national and internal, that led to the decline of the Dutch East India Company. The golden age of the seven United Provinces and therefore of the Company ended about the time when the Cape settlement was founded and though the decline of the Company was most marked in the eighteenth century it had actually begun in the preceding century, for Dutch trade was adversely affected by the two English Navigation Acts of 1651 and 1660. These were aimed at the Dutch carrying trade and were followed in each case by indecisive naval wars between England and Holland (1652-1654 and 1664-1667), while Holland was also involved in four wars against the might of Louis XIV of France, who on one occasion was aided by Charles II of England. The last two of these wars, England and Holland then being Allies, were the long and expensive War of the Grand Alliance (1688-1697) and the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713) in which Holland expended her money, men and energy so that naval supremacy passed from the Dutch to the British, while London gradually supplanted Amsterdam as the financial centre of the West. After the death in 1702 of that William of Orange who was also King of England as William III, the office of Stadtholder was abolished and Holland was ruled under an oligarchic form of republican government till 1747. Not only did national interests, such as those of the Dutch East India Company, suffer during this period of internal dissension, but once again the country was involved in a European conflict, namely the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748). Then Holland's part in the American War of Independence from 1780 to 1782 led to the

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of several of her colonial possessions and much of her shipping and made it certain that the Company would never recover its prosperity. In the stormy years that followed the French Revolution the internal struggle between the restored House of Orange and the democratic Patriot Party was resumed and culminated in the flight of the Stadtholder to England and the establishment of the Batavian Republic in 1795. All these nationalisms combined to bring about the downfall of Holland as a naval and commercial power and the Company of necessity involved in the decline of the mother-country.

This process was accelerated by the policy of the Directors, whose dividends were the one and only interest of the Company, which throughout its long career suffered from the lack of healthy competition. The duties of the Seventeen had become so onerous that they could not exercise adequate control over the 100 officials of the Company and its far-flung colonial possessions, its great fleet and vast trading operations. After a century of deep-rooted mismanagement, official corruption and private graft by its employees, the Company declared its last dividend in 1782. A dozen years later it was declared to be bankrupt, its assets being valued at 15,287,000 florins and its liabilities being assessed at 127,550,000 florins (At the time the florin was worth 1.36 d.). With the establishment of the Batavian Republic the Company lost its governing powers, as the English East India Company was to do just over sixty years later, while in the last third of the century the Dutch East India Company having been finally dissolved was brought to an inglorious end. It had had a long career of almost two hundred years.

CHAPTER SIX

THE THREE OCCUPATIONS, 1795-1814

(A) *The First British Occupation, 1795-1803*

General Craig acted as Governor of the Cape till May, 1797, when he was superseded by Earl Macartney, a distinguished statesman who had been British Ambassador to Russia in the first years of Catherine the Great's reign and later Governor of Madras for six years. Declining the governor-generalship of India he returned to England in 1786, but six years later went to China as the first British envoy to that country. Ill-health compelled him to leave the Cape of Good Hope in November, 1798, when General Francis Dundas, a nephew of the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, was acting Governor for twelve months till the arrival of Sir George Yonge—'a very, very weak old soul'—upon whose recall early in 1801 General Dundas again acted as Governor. Much of our knowledge of these years is derived from the delightful letters and journal of Lady Anne Barnard, the wife of the Secretary of the Colony, Mr. Andrew Barnard. In the absence of Lady Macartney who did not accompany her husband to South Africa, Lady Anne acted as the official hostess. She was the daughter of the Earl of Balcarres and the author of the famous ballad, 'Auld Robin Gray.' Her letters were addressed to the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, the Rt. Hon. Henry Dundas, later Viscount Melville, who was an old friend of the Lindsay family.

Throughout this period, despite the tactlessness of old Sir George Yonge, the British administration was both conciliatory and, considering the times and the natural dread of French revolutionary principles, liberal in spirit. For example the more barbarous forms of capital punishment and the torturing of slaves both long used at the Cape were abolished. The administration too was certainly less corrupt than that at any earlier period in the existence of the colony. The government was autocratic, for the Governor was the chief administrator and legislator and on occasion in the absence of the Lieutenant-Governor the sole constituent of the Court of Appeal. The system of local government and the High Court of Justice were retained, though the membership of the Court was reduced from thirteen to eight and

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judges were all paid. The Commission of the High Court set in 1786 was replaced by the Burgher Senate consisting of six burghers nominated by the Governor. Roman-Dutch Law, however, was retained and so were some of the senior officials with Orange sympathies, while the rank and file of the civil service were drawn from the colonists. Though the salaries of the officials were more than generous, it is doubtful if the British administration was any more expensive than that of the Dutch East India Company. On the economic side there were numerous reforms. Monopolies were abolished and the restrictions on internal trade and on trading with visiting ships were removed, while the Auction Tax was abolished on amounts of less than £20 and new taxes were introduced until the time of Sir George Yonge. For an unfortunate run of bad seasons, these years would have seen a considerable revival of trade owing to the presence of a large garrison and the number of British ships that called at the Cape on their way to and from India, many of them having disembarked passengers on board, so that Lady Anne Barnard wrote: 'Never saw I such a succession of Governors—the sea has been quite covered with them for the last six months.' (August, 1798).

However, despite the gaiety of official Cape Town under the social leadership of Lady Anne, all was not well on the frontier during the last four years of the British occupation. Unauthorised Indian hunts continued as of yore, while the marauding activities of Hottentot and half-breed clans living along the Orange River disturbed the peace of the undefined northern frontier, but the most serious trouble again came from the burghers of Graaff Reinet and the Xosas on the Eastern Frontier. Early in 1799 most of the British troops at the Cape had been despatched to India under the command of General David Baird to take part in the campaign against Tippoo Sahib, the Nabob of Mysore, and his Indian allies. Thus the time seeming opportune, the cry of Taxation without Protection was again raised on the frontier and notwithstanding justification; for the British, knowing their occupation of the country was but a temporary one, were loth to embark on an expensive frontier policy. Adriaan van Jaarsveld, who had been arrested for ignoring a summons of the High Court on a charge of forgery, was set free by a party of burghers, Landdrost R. Bressler was forced to leave Graaff Reinet and M. Prinsloo took up the reins of government. The rebels were assured of assistance by Coenraad Buis, an unsavoury frontier character who was living with Gaika's people and had been outlawed by General Dundas. The revolt was subdued with little bloodshed by

General Vandeleur's troops, comprising British regulars and Hottentot Pandours, and the chief offenders were either fined or imprisoned, but were all set free in 1803 by the authorities of the Batavian Republic, except van Jaarsveld, who had been under sentence of death but had died in prison. Although Dundas had dealt firmly with the rebellion, it nevertheless precipitated both a Hottentot rising and a Xosa invasion, known as the Third Kaffir War (1799-1803).

The invasion arose out of a quarrel between the two chiefs, Gaika and Ndhlabi. The followers of the latter crossed the Fish in considerable numbers and many of General Vandeleur's Hottentot troops deserted to the Xosas. General Dundas hastened to the frontier himself with some regulars and called out the burgher commandos, but not wishing to incur the expense of a military campaign he instructed Maynier to come to terms with the Xosas still more of whom were allowed to remain on the colonial side of the Fish. As General Dundas himself realized, it was a withdrawal from war rather than a peace. Subsequently Maynier was appointed Commissioner-General of the Frontier, but this caused such an uproar in Graaff Reinet that the appointment was cancelled in 1801 and, as conditions on the border remained restive, Dundas arrived on the scene again in August, 1802, being anxious to restore some semblance of law and order before handing over the Cape to the rule of the Batavian Republic. A large commando was called out, but early in the next year as all parties concerned were weary of war they agreed not to molest each other. This agreement like the Treaty of Amiens recently signed in Europe was a truce rather than a treaty of peace.

In March, 1802, Britain and France, the only two powers still at war, arranged the Treaty of Amiens; so for the first time for ten years all Europe was at peace, but it was an uneasy peace for the advantage lay with the aggressor, Napoleon Bonaparte, the First Consul of France. Lord Cornwallis, the British representative at the negotiations, is reported to have said that he went to France and, holding an olive branch in one hand and his nose with the other, made peace with Bonaparte! Among the terms agreed upon was the transfer of the Cape to the Batavian Republic, the representatives of which reached the colony in December of the same year. In February 1803, General Dundas having formally handed over the control of the Cape Colony to the Batavian authorities returned to England with his troops and officials.

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he Rule of the Batavian Republic, 1803-1806

Advocate J. A. de Mist, who took over the Cape as Commissioner-General from General Dundas, was a member of the Council for the Asiatic Possessions, the body that had assumed responsibility for governing the colonial possessions of the Dutch East India Company. He was accompanied by General Janssens, who was installed as Governor. Both de Mist and the new Governor were men of ability and firm believers in the principles for which the French Revolution originally stood, though they were out of sympathy with the methods adopted later by the French Republic. Liberals though they were, they believed nevertheless in the advantage of strong government, and though attracted by the ideas of the French philosophers, notably Rousseau's doctrine of the superiority of the 'noble savage,' they were withal shrewd and practical men of affairs. On the day they were well received at the Cape both at the seat of government and in the outlying districts, but their work for the day, valuable as it was, was handicapped by want of officials, scarcity of money and lack of time, for hardly had they assumed control of the colony than war broke out again in Europe in May, 1803, between Britain and France, the latter supported by the Batavian Republic and other satellite states.

However, before de Mist's return to Europe towards the end of 1804 many reforms were effected. The Governor and a council consisting of four salaried officials had full legislative and administrative powers, while the High Court of Justice was made dependent of the Council of Four and its composition was ordered to consist of a president and six other members, all professional lawyers. The powers of the Court were to be purely judicial and an Attorney-General took the place of the fiscal as public prosecutor. The system of local government was retained, but the duties of the landdrosts and courts of heemraden were more clearly defined. The Landdrost, as the representative of the Governor in his district, was required to protect the interests of the Hottentots and slaves, to maintain peace with the neighbouring Dutch tribes, to collect revenue and register grants of land and to try minor criminal cases. The Court of Heemraden was to consist of six burghers over the age of thirty, who had resided for more than three years in the district. They were appointed by the Governor from a list submitted by those in office and two retired each year. They superintended the upkeep of the roads and public buildings and, with the Landdrost, tried petty civil cases. In 1805 the district was divided into wards and a field-cornet, nominated by the Landdrost and appointed by the Governor, had to main-

tain order in each ward, call out the burghers in time of trouble, take the census and make known the laws. In return for these services he received a small allowance and a remission of taxation.

In 1804, following tours of the colony in the previous year first by Janssens and then by de Mist, two new districts were proclaimed and their boundaries defined, Uitenhage, named after the de Mist family, being carved out of the eastern and southern part of Graaff Reinet and Tulbagh from the north-western portion of Stellenbosch. In their visits to the frontier both General Janssens and de Mist met sundry Xosa chiefs, including Gaika, but they accomplished little or nothing in settling frontier difficulties. In their dealings with the Hottentots they were more successful, for they established a Hottentot reserve at Bethelsdorp in 1803 in charge of which they placed Dr. J. T. Vanderkemp of the London Missionary Society and they encouraged the work of the flourishing Moravian Mission at Genadendal. Moreover, by laying down that a contract of service had to be drawn up by the European master and Hottentot servant and signed and witnessed at the landdrost's office, they not only encouraged the Hottentots to seek regular employment, but also provided some official recognition of their status in the colony, for they were still regarded as free men living in the colony but not of it, though most of them were in reality in the position of servants, paid or unpaid, on European-owned farms. This contract of service was an important innovation and was humanitarian at heart. De Mist, at least, was in favour of the gradual emancipation of the slaves by freeing slave children at birth, but on account of his short stay at the Cape and the attitude of the colonists to slavery he was able to do little for the slaves and more were imported in these years.

Two important reforms in which the influence of the new French ideas is obvious were the establishment of a Board of Education to bring such schools as existed under secular control and the recognition of the principle of religious toleration, though only the ministers of the established church received their salaries from the government. Free trade was maintained within the colony and exports to other Dutch possessions were allowed on payment of a moderate duty. Efforts were made to improve the local wool and wine and to grow olives, but these attempts met with little success. General Janssens gave much of his time to the reorganization of the militia as mentioned above.

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was evident even before Lord Nelson's victory off Cape Agulhas on the 21st October, 1805, that the attempt of the British and Napoleon and the French to carry out their plans of conquering the British Isles had failed. In fact, as Nelson's fleet lay idly waiting for the enemy to come out, a considerable French fleet passed it on its way to take the Cape of Good Hope. Early in January, 1806, Commodore Sir Home Popham's fleet of 63 ships with an army of nearly seven thousand men on board under the command of General Sir David Baird cast anchor in Table Bay having been stationed at the Cape during the first occupation of the Cape by Great Britain. General Baird had first-hand knowledge of the terrain in which his force was to operate. His force was landed at Blaauwberg Beach, where it was opposed by General Janssens' none too reliable force of some two thousand men comprising German mercenaries, burgher militia, Hottentot and Malay. In face of the overwhelming odds Janssens withdrew his burgher force to the Hottentots-Holland, and General von Proglahow surrendered Cape Town and at Papendorp on January 10th signed the terms of capitulation by which the Cape was surrendered to the British authorities. The troops of the Cape public were to be sent home at Britain's expense and the existing rights and privileges of the colonists guaranteed. A few days later General Janssens accepted these terms and in the evening the General, his staff and troops left for Europe.

The Second British Occupation, 1806-1814

Since Great Britain was to hold the Cape till 1814 only by conquest and not by treaty rights, during these years the British authorities made as few changes as possible in the administration of the Cape Colony. The early governors, though reactionary in outlook and still fearful of all things French, were able men. Sir David Baird, who had seen considerable service in India and recently against the French in Egypt, remained at the Cape as Governor, while Sir Home Popham sailed off on his authorized expedition to take the Spanish town of Buenos Aires in South America. As Baird had allowed the Commodore to take command of the Cape for this ill-fated exploit, he was recalled in 1807 and succeeded by a civilian governor, du Pré Alexander, Earl of Caledon, a young man of 29, who relinquished his appointment in 1811, and was succeeded by Sir John Craddock, the first of a long line of military governors, who made the Cape a military colony. In April, 1814, for Lord Charles Somerset.

These governors were autocratic rulers subject only to control by the distant Secretary of State in London, but they gave many of the official posts to Orange supporters and even retained the services of some of the Batavian civil servants. Roman-Dutch law was retained, but the High Court reverted to its amateur status of pre-Batavian days and Olof Gottlieb de Wet again became President of the Court as he had been during the first British occupation, while the office of Fiscal was restored and given to W. S. van Ryneveld. The Burgher Senate again served as a town council for Cape Town and as an advisory body to the Government. The administration was both expensive and overloaded with officials—the Governor received a salary of £10,000 per annum (today the Governor-General of the Union of South Africa receives no more) and at one time Lord Charles Somerset had four official residences, as the Governor-General has at the present time. However, during these war years the colonists had a good market for their produce, for the garrison at the Cape was large and the harbour of Cape Town much used as a port of call. In fact the boom continued for some years after the signing of peace on account of the garrison and fleet kept at St. Helena to guard the exiled Napoleon. Both imports and exports increased sixfold between 1806 and 1820 and, in particular, wine exports increased by leaps and bounds owing to a generous preference. These years were not unimportant either from the point of view of the relations between the European rulers and the various coloured races over whom they ruled, but these racial problems, more bewildering than those of any other British colony, will be discussed in several subsequent chapters.

Following hard on the fall of the French capital, the abdication of the Emperor Napoleon and the First Treaty of Paris, the Cape finally passed into the hands of Great Britain in terms of a treaty dated the 13th August, 1814, by which Great Britain agreed to restore to the King of the Netherlands—the allies had put the Prince of Orange on his throne again in 1813—all the Dutch colonies except the Cape and Guiana. She also undertook to pay up to £6,000,000 in consideration thereof, but the whole of this amount was earmarked for specific purposes, much of it for the fortification of the southern frontier of the Kingdom of the Netherlands that had been formed on the borders of France by the unification of Holland and the former Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) under the House of Orange. Thus did the connection between the Cape Colony and the United Kingdom become a permanent one and thus did a new chapter fraught with the development of increasingly complex problems open in the

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story of Southern Africa. It has often been asserted that the last thirty years of British rule in South Africa bequeathed only a legacy of grievance and misunderstanding to the future, but as Professor C. W. de Kiewiet has shown in *A History of South Africa*, a book written from the social and economic point of view, the history of the Cape before 1836 can also be regarded as the effort of a new and conscientious government to fit a backward colony for the place it was to fill in the new Empire by the settlement of problems neglected during the long rule of the Dutch East India Company.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE EMANCIPATION OF THE HOTTENTOTS AND THE SLAVES

(A) *The Hottentots*

In the British Isles towards the end of the eighteenth century there was a religious reawakening that came to have far-reaching effects on British policy in the colonies, not least at the Cape. On the whole the eighteenth century was an age of cynical indifference to religion, the natural reaction, no doubt, to the religious zeal and strife of the Reformation period, but in the second half of the century the Wesleyan Revival with its emphasis on the 'Brotherhood of Man' first gained great influence among both the middle-class and working class of the new industrial towns and then, at the close of the century, led to the Evangelical Revival in the Church of England, which profoundly influenced the governing classes of the country. Side by side with this religious revival and with the new political ideas of 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity' of the French Revolution, there went the Romantic Revival in letters, described by Victor Hugo as 'liberalism in literature' and associated in Britain with the names of Wordsworth and Coleridge, Byron, Shelley and Keats and Walter Scott, the novelist.

Philanthropy, the practice of helping one's fellow men, was the natural result of the growing belief in the individual worth of man as man as exemplified in the literature of the times, and the movement developed in power as the feeling grew that Protestants had spent too much time in conflict with the Church of Rome and in dispute among themselves. This new missionary spirit influenced all classes of society and altered their political outlook. In the past colonization had too often meant war, annexation and slavery, but in time war became less fashionable as an instrument of colonial policy, annexation a matter for apology and slavery an institution to be abolished. The great missionary societies were founded at this time—the London Missionary Society in 1794, the Wesleyan Society in 1816 and the Glasgow Society in 1821. They usually held their annual meetings in London at Exeter Hall in the Strand. These societies were strongly supported by the increasingly vocal middle-class gradually rising to power as a result of the Industrial Revolution and by influential elements in

the upper classes. It was the representatives of these Protestant Societies at the Cape, who became the chief exponents in the Colony of the new Liberalism and then sometimes with more zeal than knowledge, proceeded to attack those privileges that were based solely on race. That the missionaries and colonists came into opposition was natural enough, for the former represented a European urban liberalism and the latter a Cape rural conservatism. Moreover, the missionaries were guided only by the message of the New Testament, the colonists almost entirely by the patriarchal ideas of the Old. In considering the differences that arose between the early missionaries and the men of the frontier, it is as well to remember at the start that 'where opposing advocates have been strong it may be safely assumed that the truth lies between the two extremes.'

The first of the missionaries of the London Society to reach the Cape, Dr. J. T. Vanderkemp, arrived in 1799. He was then over fifty years of age and had been a widower for some eight years. Before qualifying as a physician at Edinburgh, he had been an officer in the Royal Dutch Army. He was a friend of de Mist and during the Batavian occupation the Bethelsdorp reserve for Hottentots was founded and put in his charge; he was a courageous and energetic man, but eccentric and uncompromising withal. Though not without ability Vanderkemp was not in the least practical and his management of Bethelsdorp Mission was not a success; nor did his marriage to a young slave girl, whose freedom he had purchased, raise him in the estimation of either colonists or officials. With the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, the colonists attached great importance to the free Hottentots as a source of labour supply and held that the missionaries encouraged Hottentots to live in idleness on the mission stations and prevented them from coming into the labour market.

The outcome of this colonial criticism was Lord Caledon's issue of the 1809 Pass Ordinance, the object of which was to force the Hottentots into the service of the Europeans and thus check vagrancy, while at the same time affording them some legal protection. By this Ordinance contracts of service for periods not exceeding a year had to be registered and signed by the Hottentot servants and the European master; Hottentots were to be registered at the landdrost's office, were required to have fixed abode and had to carry passes issued by the landdrost before they could leave the district; Hottentots could be punished for minor offences by a landdrost or field-cornet without the formality of a trial. Cradock's Ordinance of 1812 stated that Hottentot children between the ages of eight and eighteen could be apprenticed to

the employers of their parents to compensate them for providing for the children of their servants during their infancy. The hold of the employers over their coloured servants was thus strengthened by these ordinances, but on the other hand the free coloured population of the Colony was brought within the protection of the law, however hard it might be. Years later the 1823 Commission of Inquiry reporting on the pass legislation said, 'The result of these regulations has been that of creating perpetual obligations of the Hottentot to enter service . . . he is liable to be apprehended as a vagrant, thrown into jail and a master found for him.'

It was in 1811 that Lord Caledon had introduced the system of Circuit Courts to hear important cases, inspect the work of the landdrosts and report on the general condition of the country districts. The first of these courts leaving Cape Town on circuit in October, 1811, consisted of the Chief Justice, W. S. van Ryneveld, and Judges Diemal and Fagel and did a great deal of useful work. The second court to go on circuit in 1812 comprising Judges P. L. Cloete and Strubberg was instructed to investigate the allegations of the Rev. James Read, who had taken charge of Bethelsdorp on Vanderkemp's death in December, 1811. The over-credulous Mr. Read had written to the headquarters of his Society in London, asserting among other things that there were over a hundred unpunished murders of Hottentots. These complaints reached the Colonial Office, the Governor was instructed to report on the charges and he appointed the Circuit Court to investigate them. All told in covering a vast area the Court examined a thousand witnesses, but of the seventeen Boers charged with murder only one was convicted of assault and of the fifteen charged with violence seven were found guilty. Several cases of illegal detention of cattle and children and of the withholding of wages were proved. The small number of convictions obtained was out of all proportion to the extent of the investigations, but it must be realized that the difficulty of persuading servants to give evidence against their masters was a very real one and in any case it was difficult to prove charges that were often of many years standing. Though the report of the Court was adverse to the over-gullible missionaries, the colonists were not appeased and resented the considerable inconvenience to which they had been put only less than the charges laid against them, while the few sentences imposed on white masters often on the evidence of coloured servants shook the colonists with indignation and brought down their wrath upon the L.M.S. Nevertheless, some good resulted from the general turmoil for the masters were

the necessary and valuable lesson that the protection of the law extended to the less fortunate servant class as well as to themselves.

When the L.M.S. and all its works were still unpopular at the Cape, there arrived in the Colony in 1819 Dr. John Philip, who for almost thirty years was superintendent of all the Society's work in Southern Africa, and by reason of this long period of service and his strength of character he became one of the most outstanding figures in South African history. John Philip, the son of a weaver, was born in Scotland in 1775 and came of independent, intelligent and stolid stock. He became a minister of the Congregational Church and was given honorary doctor's degrees by Columbia University and Princeton College soon after coming to the Cape. Philip was a hard worker, a good speaker, an indefatigable writer, but he was contentious and quarrelsome and at no pains either to conciliate opposition or to disarm prejudice. His book *Researches in South Africa*, published in 1828 is of little value, for it was hastily written, inaccurate on many points of detail and exaggerated in form and the author was successfully sued for libel on account of statements made in the book. His very enthusiasm for a good cause made him deaf to the views of others and he spoiled an otherwise sound policy by his obstinacy and aggressiveness in controversy, though it is unjust to accuse him of a meddlesome itch for intrigue and interference in questions he did not understand. In fact, as a result of his many tours visiting the mission stations of his Society both within and without the colonial borders, Dr. Philip really knew South African conditions better than most and he usually delayed taking action on any matter till he had first-hand knowledge of the subject. His first tour along the Eastern Frontier was made in 1830, but his first official letter on frontier conditions was not written till March 1834, while he was silent in regard to the Great Trek till his tour of 1842. In regard to most of the problems of his day, Philip saw further than any of his contemporaries, as Professor W. M. Macmillan, an authority on these questions, has shown in his books, *The Cape Colour Question* and *Bantu, Boer and Briton*, in the latter of which he writes, 'Inasmuch as he, at least, more nearly than either Government or Trekkers, saw the problem as a whole, John Philip was yet the best South African of them all.'

Soon after his arrival in South Africa Dr. Philip directed his attention to the Hottentots, whose condition he stated later 'had all the evils of slavery without any of its compensations.' He convinced the Cape authorities that Col. J. G. Cuyler, the soldier Landdrost of Uitenhage, had forced mission Hottentots to work



[Reproduced by permission of the African Museum Johannesburg]
DR JOHN PHILIP—From a lithograph by J H Lynch in the
 Jardine Collection



[Reproduced by permission of the African Museum Johannesburg]
WILLIAM WILBERFORCE—Mezzotint by Wagstaff after J Stewart

freedom it introduced has been justified by its results, for the descendants of the Hottentots and the slaves of the early nineteenth century are the Cape Coloured People of today, who are rightly regarded as a civilized group in the Union of South Africa. The political and economic status enjoyed in the Union by the Coloured People at the present time is in no small degree due to the policy of freedom inaugurated in the old Cape Colony by Ordinance 50.

The underlying trouble as far as the Hottentots were concerned was the fact that they were a landless folk and so, when unemployed, tended to become vagrants and, often, disturbers of the peace. The ill-starred Kat River Settlement was formed in 1829 as a reserve for Hottentots, the Chief Makoma and his people being ejected to make way for some 2,000 of them, but the settlement was put in charge of the Rev. J. Read and was far from being a success. Both Sir Lowry Cole and Sir Benjamin D'Urban tried to pass vagrancy ordinances to prevent coloured folk from leading idle lives and also to ensure a plentiful supply of cheap labour for the colonists, but Philip wrote to Mr. (afterwards Sir) Thomas Fowell Buxton, who saw the Colonial Office and the governors could do nothing. In this way as a result of Philip's representations the draft Vagrancy Ordinance of 1834 passed by the newly-constituted Legislative Council at the Cape was disallowed by the British Government and this also had some influence as a cause of the Trek.

Ordinance 50 was repealed by a Masters and Servants Ordinance in 1841, which applied to all servants alike and defined in great detail the duties of a servant, enumerating heavy penalties for the neglect of them. None the less with the ratification of the ordinance by an Order-in-Council in 1842, the Cape Colony ceased to know any legal distinction between white and coloured. It was repealed by an act of the Cape Parliament in 1856, which in an amended form is still law in the Cape Province. It is interesting to note that despite the heavier penalties magistrates were allowed to impose for infringements of this act, there is no comment on it in the current correspondence between the Governor and the Colonial Secretary. By this time interest in philanthropism had declined in the Colonial Office and in the British Isles as a whole and at the Cape John Philip had died in 1851.

(B) The Slaves

For three hundred years or more the slave trade was carried on by the Catholic and Protestant powers of Europe. To one

community alone, to the Quakers, belongs the honour of having repudiated the system in deed as well as in word, for from the middle of the eighteenth century no Quaker was allowed to possess slaves. The little Quaker community thus initiated the great anti-slavery campaign in Britain. Then one Granville Sharp, a grandson of an Archbishop of York, took up the cause of the small number of slaves that had been brought to England by their masters and, after seven years of patient and persistent agitation, he got Lord Justice Mansfield to declare in 1772 in the trial of the slave, James Somersett, that slavery was illegal in Great Britain. Thus 14,000 negroes were set free and largely as the result of one man's work slavery was abolished in Britain and a movement was inaugurated, which was to proceed slowly, but continuously, to its ultimate triumph in 1833.

In 1787 the forces in Britain working for the abolition of the slave trade were consolidated, when a Committee of Twelve was formed to secure the support of Parliament. Two of the most prominent members of the committee were Thomas Clarkson, the son of an Anglican clergyman, who by his enthusiasm and energy did as much as any man to secure the triumph of the cause, and William Wilberforce, a member of an old and wealthy Yorkshire family, who was the member of Parliament for Hull, a friend of the Prime Minister, Pitt, and, moreover, a man who possessed all the gifts which the fashionable world requires of its favourites. Then there were Henry Thornton, a rich banker, whose house at Clapham became the centre of the abolitionist cause; Charles Grant, the father of Lord Glenelg; James Stephen, the father of that Sir James Stephen who was the senior official in the Colonial Office from 1836 to 1847, and the elder Macaulay, all of whom were members of Parliament. This 'Clapham Sect' united by ties of friendship, marriage and religion were termed in Parliament 'The Saints' and really were a brotherhood of Christian politicians, the like of which has not been seen since. They founded the Sierra Leone Company, which established a colony as a home for freed slaves, the Church Missionary Society in 1799, and a few years later the British and Foreign Bible Society.

Year after year they continued their agitation in Parliament for the abolition of the slave trade. In 1788 William Pitt, the Prime Minister, secured the passage of a bill to limit the number of slaves carried on a ship, but for years little else was accomplished owing to the continuance of the wars that followed the outbreak of the French Revolution. The abolitionists, however, were nothing if not persistent and patient, and eventually in 1807 a bill was passed by an overwhelming majority stating that

Assent, but had lived long enough to see the culmination of the struggle he had waged so consistently for fifty years. In all the slave-owning colonies the emancipation celebrations passed off quietly and, despite the prophecies of West Indian owners, there was nothing like a general strike of slaves. The second round had been won; a third remained to be fought, for slavery continued to exist in other countries for some years to come and the East African slave trade with Egypt, Arabia and Persia continued unchecked until David Livingstone, the great explorer and missionary, saw the horrors of it in his wanderings in Central Africa in the middle of the century.

At the Cape at any rate the Emancipation Act came as a relief, so great had the tension become. Besides some very old slaves, there were at the Cape 35,800 slaves valued at £3,041,290:6:0—an average of just over £85 each, but as only £1,247,401:0:7½ was awarded to the Cape as compensation and as the expenses of valuation amounting to £12,000 had to be deducted first and the claims proved in London, where they were paid partly in cash and partly in 3½% stock, Cape owners obtained as compensation only a fifth, instead of a third of the value of their slaves. It is true the colonists had been eager for slaves and so might be expected to share with the British taxpayer the burden of emancipation but on the other hand many slave-owners were ruined as their slaves were mortgaged, while others who lived on the proceeds of the labour of their slaves were in a similar plight. The colonists did not object to the emancipation itself, which for many years they had known was coming, but they did resent the financial loss it involved and, still more, the fact that no vagrancy laws were passed to control the movements of the liberated slaves, who became 'free persons of colour' in terms of Ordinance 50. From this point of view the emancipation may be regarded as a cause of the Trek, though it is important to remember that it was the result of a great national movement in Great Britain and that individual missionaries, like Dr. Philip, had little, if any, influence on the abolition of slavery. Nevertheless, though hastily executed, the emancipation was beneficial alike to the half-caste slave and to the European slave-owner, who faced with the prospect of an intermittent labour supply began to learn none too soon the dignity of manual labour. No doubt there were mistakes made in effecting the emancipation of the slaves, but in the words of the great English historian, Lecky, 'The unwearied, unostentatious and inglorious crusade of England against slavery may probably be regarded as among the three or four perfectly virtuous pages comprised in the history of nations.'

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE FRONTIER PROBLEM TO 1836

(A) *Frontier Troubles to 1820*

The clash of European and Bantu on the Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony over 600 miles from Cape Town forms the dominant theme of South African history from the opening years of the nineteenth century until the time of the Great Trek, and throughout this period the land factor is the one of prime importance. In the past in writing on frontier troubles too much stress has been placed on mere cattle stealing, whereas the need of more grazing land for both European and Bantu and the fundamental difference in their attitude to the holding of land are the real causes of the conflict between them. It has been pointed out in a previous chapter that Bantu ideas about land are somewhat similar to our own about sea or air—in short it is something which can neither be bought nor sold. The Fourth Kaffir War (1811-1812) followed Xosa raids on the Uitenhage District and the murder of the elder Andries Stockenstrom, Landdrost of Graaff Reinet, and eight farmers, while attending a conference with Xosa warriors. Colonel John Graham soon cleared the Zuurveld and drove some 20,000 Xosas beyond the Fish. The Governor, Sir John Cradock, then established a chain of block-houses along the river and appointed deputy-landdrosts at the new villages of Grahamstown and Cradock. In an effort to increase the white population in the Zuurveld, he offered to grant quitrent farms of 2,000 morgen apiece in the vicinity of the various military posts to those who might apply. Cradock's policy was an earnest attempt to establish the rule of law on the frontier and to make the frontiersmen real landowners, but unfortunately very few colonists applied for these farms, which they considered too small.

In 1815 there occurred the Slachter's Nek Rebellion, a typical incident of lawlessness on a distant and disturbed frontier. It was really nothing more than the resistance of a truculent type of frontiersmen to the new conceptions of law, order and justice, that were gradually being made effective in the remoter districts. For over two years Frederick Bezuidenhout, who lived near the Baviaans River on the fringe of the Colony, ignored the summons

prosperity without the help of slave labour which they were debarred from using. Still as the British Government, despite the ultimate success of this experiment in colonization, was loth to finance similar ventures and as the Cape Government was too poor to do so, the main streams of emigration went from Great Britain to Australia and North America; their gain was South Africa's loss. None the less, the 1820 Settlers though few in number have had a not unimportant influence on the history of South Africa. They confronted the Xosas on the border and shared with the earlier Dutch colonists the dangers, difficulties and disappointments of frontier life. This community of interest provided a basis for co-operation and tended to obliterate differences of race, while the frontier itself was made more secure. On their arrival they formed about one-seventh of the European population of the Colony and after the Trek the Eastern Province became predominantly English-speaking, but their political influence has often been overestimated, for most of them belonged to the lower middle class and so did not have the franchise before leaving England. However, they brought with them a new outlook, a spirit of agitation and the Englishman's traditional antipathy to wards autocratic government. They had nothing to do with the appointment of the 1823 Commission of Inquiry, but they certainly influenced its investigations into the arbitrary rule of Lord Charles Somerset, who at long last returned to the Colony in December, 1821.

(C) Frontier Troubles after 1820

On his arrival the Governor to his intense resentment found that Donkin had reversed his policy in regard to the neutral belt. The unrest on the Eastern Frontier, which suffered from severe pressure from the front and also from the rear on account of the ravages of Chaka and his Zulus in the dozen or so years before the outbreak of the Sixth Kaffir War, was intensified by the changing policy of successive governors in connection with both the neutral belt and the Spoor Law. In 1821 Donkin had established a settlement of retired officers at Fredericksburg in the fertile neutral territory and also allowed Makoma to return to the valley of the Kat. Then certain chiefs were allowed to graze their cattle between the Fish and the Keiskama and soon colonists were allowed to settle in what came to be called the Ceded Territory, since they too were pastoralists and a rigid frontier was against the tradition of the Colony. In 1829 Sir Lowry Cole, who had succeeded Somerset, expelled the natives from the Kat area to form a reserve for Hottentots. Subsequently Makoma was allowed to return until Colonel Somerset, the son of the former Governor.

cleared the Ceded Territory again in 1834 and the Chief after all his wanderings was driven to ask, 'When shall I and my people be able to get rest?'

The policy in the enforcing of the Spoor Law was as vacillating as that in regard to the occupation of land in the Ceded Territory, so that neither frontiersmen nor Xosas knew what the regulations really were. Somerset had allowed soldiers to assist farmers in tracing the spoor of stolen cattle. The kraal to which it was traced was held responsible and a similar number to that taken could be exacted as compensation, though farmers often took more than they had lost, for they were often ignorant of the exact number of cattle they owned. General Bourke, when he was acting as Governor from 1826 to 1828, would not allow the colonists to cross the frontier unless the cattle were in sight and then the nearest chief was to be held responsible for recovering the stolen cattle, and shortly after assuming office Sir Lowry Cole forbade military patrols to exact compensation for thefts at all and would allow them only to recover the actual cattle that had been stolen.

(D) The Sixth Kaffir War and its Consequences

Towards the end of Sir Benjamin D'Urban's first year as Governor of the Cape Colony, frontier unrest reached seething point and developed into the Sixth Kaffir War (1834-1835), the most important in its results of all the frontier conflicts. The Xosa outbreak was a spontaneous one rather than a premeditated and carefully planned attack on the Colony by certain chiefs, for army officers as well as Dr. Philip and other missionaries testify to the fact that the state of the frontier was comparatively calm until the end of October, 1834. Philip while visiting the frontier in September and October had told the chiefs in Kaffirland at the request of D'Urban that he would come to the frontier himself, 'take into consideration their affairs and redress their grievances.' However, D'Urban, expecting trouble in the Colony over the emancipation of the slaves in December, remained in Cape Town and instead of the Governor arriving on the frontier the military patrols were particularly active in November and December and burning huts and cornfields across the Keiskama. Though these reprisals for Xosa cattle thieving were in accordance with Bantu custom, they occurred at a particularly inopportune time, for the Ceded Territory had been cleared once again and the severe drought in the summer of 1833-1834 had led to a failure of crops on both sides of the border with a consequent rise in temper of both European and Xosa frontiersmen.

Secretary decided on the complete abandonment of the Province of Queen Adelaide, though D'Urban was given till the end of 1836 'to prepare the public mind' for this event.

The way was thus left clear for D'Urban to convince the Colonial Secretary of the wisdom of his September policy of partial segregation, but beyond sending him a short account of this, which only reached London a month after Glenelg had sent off his December Despatch the Governor forebore to do so. In fact D'Urban was amazingly dilatory; for example, his formal acknowledgment of Glenelg's weighty December Despatch was dated 23rd March, 1836, but his detailed reply in defence of his policy was dated June though it was not despatched from the Cape till December—two months after he had ordered the evacuation of the Province of Queen Adelaide—and did not reach Glenelg till March, 1837! In the meantime in London the Colonial Secretary appointed Captain Andries Stockenstrom as Lieutenant-Governor of the Eastern Districts; he like his father before him had been Landdrost of Graaff Reinet. Before the Aborigines Committee he had given damaging evidence against the reprisals system and had held that the farmers were partly responsible for the unsatisfactory state of affairs on the frontier before the war. On receiving his new appointment Stockenstrom was given the necessary authority to make treaties with the Native chiefs across the frontier by which they were to keep the peace, check thieving and collaborate with British agents, who were to live at their kraals and have purely diplomatic powers. The British Government thus intended to avoid the expense and responsibility of governing the Xosa tribes, but Glenelg's policy as put into effect by Stockenstrom at least had the advantage of leaving them in possession of their land, though it also meant that the frontier problem was still unsolved and left much as it had been before the war. Stockenstrom arrived in the Colony in July, 1836, and, not unnaturally, was soon at loggerheads with the Governor whose policy he had come to reverse. In February, 1837, a proclamation was issued formally renouncing British sovereignty in Kaffirland, the evacuation of which D'Urban had ordered the previous October, and in August, 1837, D'Urban received a letter from Glenelg announcing his recall as soon as his successor might arrive.

D'Urban's May settlement was, naturally enough, popular with the colonists, for it promised compensation in land for the losses they had suffered during the war. His amended settlement of September was less well received and the abandonment of the Province of Queen Adelaide caused consternation among the

frontier Boers, many more of whom went on trek in 1837 than in any of the three previous years. They blamed Lord Glenelg and Dr. Philip alike for all their new woes, though the latter appearing before the Aborigines Committee in 1836 continued to urge that the Province of Queen Adelaide should be retained and the land secured to the Xosa tribes. How much trouble might have been avoided had Glenelg listened to Philip rather than to Stockenstrom, who having lived on the frontier as a landowner and official for over two decades was regarded as an expert. It has been said that the frontier vindicated Lord Palmerston's observation that if you wish to be misinformed about a country you should consult a man who has lived there thirty years and speaks the language ! In any case this changing frontier policy at the close of the Sixth Kaffir War—three settlements in little more than twelve months—was an important cause of the Trek and, moreover, was regarded by the Xosa chiefs as a temporary and suspicious lull in European aggression.

CHAPTER NINE

THE GREAT TREK, 1834-1838

The Causes

From one point of view the Great Trek, though in its organization, size and spirit something new, was a continuation of the steady migration away from the Cape Peninsula, that had been going on throughout the eighteenth century and in the opening years of the nineteenth century. However, this time it was no chance migration, for there was much preliminary investigation and in 1834 three small groups set out to explore the possibilities of trekking into territory as far as Damaraland in the west, the Zoutpansberg in the north and Natal, thus indicating that from a tactical point of view the frontiersmen were considering the adoption of an outflanking movement in place of the frontal attack on the Bantu across the Keiskama, which had been proved difficult and indecisive in successive Kaffir wars.

While remembering that historical events are seldom seen in their true perspective by contemporaries, it is of interest to read the opinions expressed at the time on the causes of the great migration from the frontier districts of the Cape Colony into the interior of Southern Africa. In February, 1837, before leaving the colony, Piet Retief, the most able of the Trekker leaders, published an article in the Grahamstown Journal in which the following were the main points:

- (1) We despair of saving the colony from those evils which threaten it from the turbulent and dishonest conduct of vagrants who are allowed to infest the country in every part, nor do we see any prospect of peace or happiness for our children in a country thus distracted by internal commotions.
- (2) We complain of severe losses which we have been forced to sustain by the emancipation of our slaves, and the vexatious laws which have been enacted respecting them.
- (3) We complain of the continual system of plunder which we have ever endured from the Kaffirs and other coloured classes, and particularly by the last invasion of the colony, which has desolated the frontier districts and ruined most of the inhabitants.

(4) We complain of the unjustifiable odium which has been cast upon us by interested and dishonest persons, under the cloak of religion, whose testimony is believed in England to the exclusion of all evidence in our favour.'

Later in the same year D'Urban wrote that 'insecurity of life and property occasioned by the recent measures, inadequate compensation for the loss of slaves and despair of obtaining recompense for the ruinous losses of the Kaffir invasion' were the causes of the Trek, while somewhat later in November the philanthropically minded Lord Glenelg in the distant Colonial Office was writing, 'The motives of this migration were the same as had in all ages impelled the strong to encroach on the weak and the powerful and unprincipled to wrest by force or fraud from the comparatively feeble and defenceless wealth or property or dominion.' The truth lies somewhere between these two extremes. Perhaps, Mrs. Anna Steenkamp, a niece of Piet Retief, writing in 1876 has expressed as truly as anyone the most important cause of the Trek: 'The shameful and unjust proceedings with reference to the freedom of our slaves; and yet it is not so much their freedom which drove us to such lengths, as their being placed on an equal footing with Christians, contrary to the laws of God, and the natural distinction of race and colour, so that it was intolerable for any decent Christian to bow down beneath such a yoke; wherefore we rather withdrew in order thus to preserve our doctrines in purity.'

It was this horror of the equality between Coloured and White implied in Ordinance 50 of 1828 and in the Emancipation Act of 1833, coupled with the rejection of any vagrancy laws that was the fundamental cause of the Trek. The financial loss involved in the emancipation of the slaves was a minor factor, for few of the actual trekkers were slave-owners, nor was it the freeing of the slaves to which exception was taken, but their being put on a footing of equality with Europeans. Lord Glenelg's policy, which made for insecurity on the frontier and also meant that there were to be no grants of land as compensation for the heavy losses suffered during the Sixth Kaffir War, was an important factor in accelerating the whole trek movement. In all these events the colonists saw the influence of the missionaries, particularly those belonging to the London Missionary Society, and they resented the way in which they were able to influence the actions of the Colonial Office, whereas the frontiersmen found it well-nigh impossible to let the British Government know their side of the question, even after the establishment of the nominated Legislative Council in 1834, which was far

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representative of the settled Western Province than it was frontier districts.

There were causes of the Trek other than those tied with relations between the Europeans on the one hand and the Coloured People and Bantu on the other. It has been said that cheap labour, security and land in plenty formed an inseparable trinity in the eyes of the Boers. The whole of land tenure has much to do with the origin of the Trek. The eighteenth century system of loan-place farms gave farmers a maximum of freedom and the government a minimum of control, so that British governors found the system unworkable: the authorities could neither exercise adequate control over settlement nor derive much revenue from land. The system offered no security of tenure to the farmers, for that they owned were the buildings on the land. Thus the system encouraged both poor farming and the improvident habits that were so characteristic of the frontier districts.

3. Sir John Cradock introduced a system of surveyed permanent farms, which were practically freehold, and he also effected the conversion of loan-places into permanent quit-rent, but in the next eight years only about a sixth of the existing places were converted despite the low taxation and these mostly in the settled and agricultural west. The frontiersmen, particularly, resented the stricter government control over land and the necessity to obtain diagrams and title deeds of their land. While Sir Lowry Cole's announcement in 1832 that in Crown lands would be sold by auction and not granted gratuitously as in the past was also unpopular, although the policy was not carried out until much later. These factors, together with the Cape custom of dividing landed property among male heirs so that in course of time farms became small and of little economic value, all tended to encourage trekking into the interior, where land could be had for the taking or the price. The severe drought in the summer of 1833-1834 also encouraged trekking for it caused men to seek new homes. In their policy the aim of the British authorities had been to attach the farmers more firmly to their land in order to induce them to improve their farms and to bear a fairer share of taxation, but in actual fact their policy tended to make the interior more barren and more valuable and thus, the Boers being what they were, it encouraged trekking.

Traditions of government in the Cape Colony were bad, as frontiersmen had been used to little control in the days of the Dutch East India Company. When they had provided their

own defence and so had become their own law. They had become a race of extreme individualists with an inherited suspicion of any authority and discipline, so that they viewed with dismay the steady extension of magisterial districts, which in their eyes meant stricter government control and, moreover, in 1828 involved the abolition of the representative Courts of Heemraden. British rule was sometimes arrogant, but it was too economical to be a heavy and sustained discipline, so that it is a one-sided view of the Trek to regard it simply as the story of a people 'oppressed and misunderstood, fleeing into the wilderness to escape a tyrannous Imperial power.' Colonel Deneys Reitz has written in *No Outspan*, his third book, 'Knowing my countrymen as I do, I think the cause of their leaving was not so much hatred of British rule as a dislike of any rule.' Certainly with the passing of the years the frontiersmen became prolific in grievances and it would not be surprising if 'some blamed the authorities for making them do what desire and ambition prompted them to do.' The frontiersmen—and it was they and not the well-to-do farmers of the western districts who went on trek—were stock-farmers and hunters with a low standard of living who were used both to isolation and trekking, so that though the Trek implied an uprooting it did not mean a change in their way of life. The dangers of the interior were undoubtedly great, but at any rate the leaders of the various parties knew that of all the tribes the Griquas, Matabele and Zulus alone were to be feared. Any other people but the Boers might have rebelled in similar circumstances, (but since the trek-spirit was inborn farms were either sold or abandoned and their holders went off into the interior, where cheap land and labour would be plentiful and government interference of the slightest.) It seems probable that the Great Trek would not have happened had the scene not been South Africa and the actors Boers.

(B) *The Events*

All of the parties that left the Colony to face the dangers and to endure the difficulties of life in the interior were really organized groups of land-seekers. The first party led by Louis Trigardt, a colonist of Swedish descent, left the Albany District as early as September, 1834, crossed the Orange River the following year and was then joined by another group under J. van Rensburg, each party mustering some seven or eight families and totalling 98 people in all. In 1836 they reached the present site of Potgietersrust in the Zoutpansberg and then van Rensburg's group moved towards Delagoa Bay and was wiped out by natives somewhere in the region of the Limpopo. After

many trials and tribulations Trigardt's followers at last reached Delagoa Bay in April, 1837, where many died of fever, and finally two years later the Portuguese officials there assisted the survivors to go by sea to join the other trekkers in the Republic of Natal.

A. H. Potgieter, a man of 45, left the Colony in February, 1836, at the head of a party from the Tarka and Colesberg Districts. Later he was joined by smaller groups under Carel Illiers and the Liebenbergs. They obtained a grant of land between the Vaal and Vet Rivers from the Chief Makwena. After much wandering in the Transvaal, the restless Potgieter returned to his base in the northern part of what is now the Free State to find that the Liebenbergs had been massacred. At Vechtkop Potgieter drove off the Matabele, the powerful offshoot of the Zulu nation that had been gathered by Moselekatze in the Marico area and then settled at Thaba 'Nchu in October, 1836.

Here he was joined by another party led by Gerrit Maritz, a younger man than Potgieter, who had left Graaff Reinet earlier in the year. In December Maritz was chosen as landdrost and six others were appointed to assist him in administering the combined parties, but neither Maritz nor Potgieter had any political experience and the two leaders were quarrelsome by nature and jealous of each other. Nevertheless they defeated the Matabele at Mosega in January, 1837, and then returned to Thaba 'Nchu.

In April they were joined by Piet Retief, a man of nearly forty and the ablest of the trekker leaders, who commanded a party of four hundred from the Winterberg District. The quarrels between Potgieter and Maritz soon gave him the ascendancy, though Maritz remained as President of the Volksraad, but in June Retief was elected Commandant-General and Governor of all the trekkers with an elected council to assist him. Before long the arrival of Jacobus and Piet Uys and others added still more to the military power of the trekkers, but dissension soon broke out again. Maritz and Potgieter separated once more, Uys repudiated Retief's authority and in October the latter went off to Natal. In the meantime Potgieter and the younger Uys without loss to themselves defeated the Matabele decisively at Marico River in November, 1837, and Moselekatze withdrew permanently beyond the Limpopo, while Potgieter claimed all the land from the Vaal to the Zoutpansberg.

In Natal Retief visited Dingaan, the successor to Chaka as Chief of the Zulus, and was promised a grant of land if he would recover some cattle for Dingaan that had been stolen by another chief, Sikonyela. The cattle were recovered and in February, 1838, Retief arranged a treaty with Dingaan by which the latter ceded to the trekker leader the territory between the Tugela and Umzimvubu Rivers. On taking leave of Dingaan on the 6th February, Retief, seventy men accompanying him and thirty Hottentot servants were treacherously murdered. The rest of his party were surprised on the 17th at a place since called Weenen and nearly 300 men, women and children and 250 of their native dependants were massacred, only four Europeans escaping. Several attempts were then made to punish Dingaan. On the 6th April Potgieter and Piet Uys attacked the Zulus, but the Boers were defeated at Italana, where Piet Uys and his gallant young son Dirk, a boy of 15, were both killed. Potgieter quarrelsome as ever then returned to the Transvaal, where he founded Potchefstroom in December, 1838, as the first permanent settlement of Europeans north of the Vaal. Also in April a force of 1,500 Natives led by twenty of the English traders at Port Natal took many cattle from the Zulus, but later in the month at a second engagement thirteen Englishmen and a thousand of their Native followers were killed and their settlement destroyed. Some time later Maritz died and towards the end of the year Andries Pretorius arrived in Natal at the head of a determined body of trekkers pledged to avenge the death of their comrades. On the 16th December, 1838, Pretorius with a force of 464 men crushed the Zulu power at Blood River, where some 3,000 Zulus were killed, while the Boer casualties were three wounded. Pretorius discovered Dingaan's deed of cession in Retief's wallet at the chief's kraal. Dingaan escaped and was murdered soon afterwards in Swaziland, while early in the new year the Republic of Natal was set up at Pietermaritzburg. The opening of the year 1839 witnessed the foundation of the first permanent European settlements in the present Orange Free State, Transvaal and Natal, so that 1839 is an appropriate year at which to commence the history of these provinces of the Union of South Africa as European states.

(C) *The Results*

The Great Trek has been called the great disaster of South African History. It is necessary to review the results of this epic and, in many ways, heroic movement to consider to what extent this is true. ~~In~~ In the first place the loss of some ten thousand people within a few years retarded the development of the

Cape Colony, which had never been intensively colonized, and also left the Eastern Frontier insecure at a time when the Xosas, as a result of Lord Glenelg's ill-conceived measures, felt strong enough to harry the settlers in the frontier districts.

It was the Trek that destroyed South Africa's national unity, for instead of being united and held together as the Cape Colony gradually extended its borders South Africa was hopelessly broken up: there were several independent states, where there ought to have been one, and continual friction between the governments of these states and the British Government. In short there was war where there should have been peace and animosity between British and Dutch where there should have been admixture. The Sand River and Bloemfontein Conventions of 1852 and 1854 by which Britain recognized the independence respectively of the Transvaal and Orange-Vaal territory meant that the spirit of the Trek had won and that for a long time to come South Africa was to be a land divided. At one time—in 1857—there were three British colonies, the Cape, Natal and Kaffraria, and as many as five republics with their centres of government at Bloemfontein, Pretoria, Utrecht, Lydenburg and in the Zoutpansberg. The great distances that separated these little states from each other and, within each state, their own subjects from one another at a time when communications were both slow and undeveloped, seemed to intensify the diversity of feeling between them; for the history of all the republics with the exception of the Orange Free State from the time of President Brand is a sorry record of faction and schism and bankruptcy. It is the story too of a struggle between certain strong men trying to establish their personal rule and of others endeavouring to maintain the authority of the Volksraad. Except, perhaps, in the O.F.S. in the days of Sir John Brand, the various republican administrations had little success in the conduct of their foreign affairs or in the field of internal reforms, educational or otherwise, while their financial weakness was due to their consistent failure to tax land. It was not till 1876 that even the Free State introduced its first land tax, and then it was only 2s. per hundred morgen.

Another detrimental effect of the Trek was the fact that it maintained and intensified the economic and educational backwardness of the Cape frontier districts in the eighteenth century. For many years the trekkers and their descendants led a roving life in the interior cut off from all educational facilities and other civilizing agents. Their education was first that of the open veld and then that of the isolated farm, but it was neither

literary nor industrial and made the Boers far more backward than their counterparts in Australia and the American Middle West. The isolation in which the children and grandchildren of the trekkers grew up has helped to create the Poor White problem of to-day, for the civilizing work of the original trekkers was superficially done and was spread far too thinly over a wide area.

As the Trek is responsible in some measure for the Poor White problem of the present, so also it made the segregation of the Bantu tribes for ever impossible. Despite the wars of Chaka and Msilikazi the land into which the trekkers moved was by no means empty of population for Native wars were not unduly destructive of life. Having subdued the Native tribes the trekkers soon dispossessed them of their lands and thus helped to create a landless class of Natives, which is the source of many of the Union's economic troubles at the present time. The trekkers hardly exemplify a judicious Native policy, for their haphazard apportionment of land often without any survey at all meant that the Natives became mere squatters on their old tribal land; and in looking at things exclusively from the point of view of European interests the trekkers set the disastrous fashion of ignoring the very existence of the Native population. Sir T. Shepstone was near the truth when he wrote to the Colonial Office in January, 1880, that 'the government of the (Transvaal) Republic never thought it necessary even as a matter of mere prudence, to set apart land for the occupation of the natives.' The Native Problem that exercises the attention of S. African statesmen to-day is largely the creation of the trekkers, who in the interior provinces of the Union laid the foundation of a civilization based on a landless Bantu proletariat and a rigid maintenance of the Colour Bar in State and Church.

On the other hand the Great Trek speeded up the exploration and economic development of the interior and rescued the weaker Native tribes from the savage barbarism of internecine warfare. Within a few years the interior of Southern Africa was explored and European rule established from the Orange in the south to the Limpopo in the north and from the shores of the Indian Ocean to the edge of the Kalahari Desert. It is probable that but for the Trek neither diamonds nor gold would have been discovered as early as they were, that wool might not be one of the Union's chief sources of wealth to-day and that the Union might still be a pastoral community of little importance in world affairs. The Trek also prevented foreign

powers, for example Germany, from annexing the interior of Southern Africa. While admitting, as one is bound to do, that the Trek had detrimental effects, it is possible too to recognize its beneficial results and to render due honour to the pioneers of the Trek era for their great achievements in the past and for the splendid legacy they have bequeathed to the future. Looking back it may not be unduly optimistic to claim that the political divisions that began in 1836 were healed by the Union of 1910, but the decisive social consequences of the Trek—the Poor White and Native Problems—still remain to be solved and affect the public weal in the Union of South Africa to-day.

CHAPTER TEN

THE CAPE COLONY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Before embarking on the history of the states founded by the Voortrekkers, it will be convenient to trace the development of the Cape Colony from the time of the Great Trek to the end of the century, a task involving in particular a study of its constitutional progress and the gradual extension of its eastern frontier until it coincided with the southern boundary of Natal.

(A) Constitutional Development

For long after the close of the Napoleonic Wars the Cape was still regarded as a South African Gibraltar and its government was a despotism in which the dominant influence was reaction against the potent forces of Liberalism and Nationalism let loose by the French Revolution, though, as in the days of the first British occupation of the Cape, the spirit of the government, nonetheless, remained benevolent. 'All powers of government within the said settlement, as well civil as military, shall be vested solely in Our Governor. . . . All public acts and judicial proceedings shall henceforth be done, issued and performed in the name of the Governor.' These instructions issued to Lord Macartney in 1796 continued to hold sway during the early years of the second occupation and were tantamount to the establishment of autocratic government, for, as previously noted, the Governor was the chief administrator and legislator in the Colony and, in the absence of the Lieutenant-Governor, the sole constituent of the Court of Appeal for civil cases and, from 1808, for criminal cases too, while the judges until 1827 were removable at the Governor's pleasure. It was only towards the close of the long governorship of Lord Charles Somerset (1814-1826) that any limitation was placed on the powers of the Governor. Lord Charles was the second son of the fifth Duke of Beaufort, his elder brother being the Marquess of Worcester and the youngest Lord Fitzroy Somerset, who was to become well-known as Field-Marshal Lord Raglan in the Crimea War. Though autocratic by nature and lacking in tact, Somerset had a high sense of duty and was a conscientious administrator,

who brought the first Scottish schoolmasters and ministers to the Colony, among whom J. Rose-Innes and the Rev. Andrew Murray were pre-eminent.

In Chapter VII attention was directed to the fact that, as a result of the complaints of Dr. Philip about the treatment of the Hottentots, the British Government appointed a Commission of Inquiry to examine the general administration of the Colony, as well as the conditions of the slave and Hottentot populations. The two special commissioners, Major W. M. G. Colebrooke and Mr. J. T. Bigge, a West Indian judge, arrived at the Cape in July, 1823. Ten years later Major Colebrooke headed a similar Commission to Ceylon, where he also succeeded in reforming that Colony's government and established the principle that Natives should be admissible to most government posts exactly twenty-five years before Queen Victoria's celebrated Indian Proclamation was issued (after the Mutiny). While the Commissioners were in the Colony, Lord Charles Somerset was involved in the Press Quarrel which brought him into disfavour with the Commission and provoked criticism of his régime both in the British Press and in the House of Commons. George Greig, a printer recently arrived at the Cape, started a weekly, *the South African Commercial Advertiser*, of which Thomas Pringle, an 1820 Settler, who was something of a poet, and John Fairbairn, who later married a daughter of Dr. Philip, were the editors. It was published on the usual condition imposed by the British Government that 'all topics of political and personal controversy' should be excluded and the first number appeared in January, 1824, having been printed on a machine belonging to the London Missionary Society, which Greig had undertaken to repair for Dr. Philip. In publishing an account of a trial the paper criticized both the Governor and the Fiscal. The former thought Dr. Philip was fomenting the agitation against him, while the latter demanded to see the proofs of the next number. Greig put up placards in Cape Town protesting against government interference. These the authorities had removed and the paper was suppressed. Greig promptly went to England, where an account of the suppression of his paper was fully reported both in the *London Times* and the *Morning Chronicle* in August, 1824. The outcome was that the colonial Secretary gave Greig permission to re-publish his weekly, and so he returned to the Colony and it appeared again the following August.

In the meantime the first number of the *South African Journal* appeared in March, 1824. This was a monthly written

alternately in English and Dutch and sponsored by Pringle and Fairbairn, who were assisted by the Rev. A. Fauré. In the second number there appeared an article on the condition and prospects of the English settlers on the Eastern Frontier to which the Governor took exception. In a stormy interview Somerset demanded a pledge of good behaviour from Pringle and the latter decided to cease publication till the position of the Press in the Colony had been put on a more satisfactory basis. Moreover, the Governor suspicious of the Literary and Debating Society that Pringle had formed in Cape Town threatened to ban it and also prohibited the British settlers, many of whom had taken a prominent part in the Press agitation, from holding public meetings. It was not till 1828 that Fairbairn obtained from the Colonial Secretary an ordinance granting the freedom of the Press subject to the usual law of libel as interpreted by the Courts.

Even before he had received the report of the Commissioners, Lord Bathurst, the Colonial Secretary, had decided to set up a Council of Advice at the Cape, but the Commission's Report itself, which criticized adversely the rule of Lord Charles Somerset, led to the resignation of the Governor in 1826 while he was on leave in England; the issue of the first Charter of Justice in 1827 established an independent Bench and divided the Colony into two provinces with Andries Stockenstroom as Commissioner-General of the Eastern Province with headquarters at Grahamstown (1828). The Council of Advice, which met first in May, 1825, was an ineffective check on the Governor's autocracy, for he was not bound to act on the advice of the Council if he subsequently justified his action to the Colonial Secretary. Moreover, the composition of the Council was entirely official: it consisted of the Governor and his chief subordinates, namely the Secretary to Government, the senior military officer, the Auditor and Receiver. In 1828, just before the abolition of the Courts of Landdrost and Heemraden, two nominated burghers were added to the Advisory Council. The year 1825 is memorable for at least two other reasons. Firstly, the paper rix-dollar, which had fallen in value from 4s. to 1s. 6d., was stabilized in British silver at the latter figure and thus the Cape obtained a sound currency, which connected it with the economic system of the Empire, though the last of the old paper money was not paid off for another twenty years. Secondly, on the 13th October the first steamship to arrive in South African waters, appropriately enough named the *Enterprise*, steamed into Table Bay after a voyage of 58 days from Falmouth. Its arrival like that

of the settlers five years earlier was yet another reminder of a distant Industrial Revolution that was to have far-reaching effects on life at the Cape, and the citizens of Cape Town, suspending both business and pleasure for the day, flocked to the beach to see the latest wonder.

The Charter of Justice that came into operation in 1828 imposed a considerable check on the autocracy of the Governor for he lost his judicial powers. A Supreme Court of professional judges—a Chief Justice and three Puisne Judges—took the place of the amateur High Court, the right of appeal being over the head of the Governor to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London. The Bench was independent of the other branches of government, the members being appointed by the Crown for life. Civil cases were to be heard before two judges, while criminal cases were to be tried before a judge and a jury of nine members, whose verdict had to be unanimous. The popular Courts of Landdrost and Heemraden were abolished to make way for resident magistrates from whose decisions appeals could be made to the half-yearly circuit courts. As in Ceylon Roman-Dutch civil law was retained, though English criminal procedure was gradually introduced to the great advantage of the Colony, as the penalties and punishments allowed by the reformed English criminal law were milder than those sanctioned by its Roman-Dutch counterpart. In terms of a proclamation issued in the Colony in 1823, though it became fully operative only at the time of the Charter, English was to be the official language of the Courts. A second Charter, which came into force in 1834, made several slight changes in the original one, declaring members of the Cape Bar eligible for appointment as judges—the first judges were all Scots—and that no person was to be disqualified from serving on a jury on account of his ignorance of English. These Charters of Justice have had considerable influence in South Africa, for they are the foundations on which rest the present judicial system of the Union, Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa; and it would be difficult to over-estimate the influence of the old Cape Supreme Court, which first established the high standard of justice that has been maintained by the courts of the Union of South Africa and which, moreover, for years before Union provided a school of training for advocates, judges and presidents of neighbouring states.

In 1830 a petition from the Albany District and, some months later, one from the citizens of Cape Town were sent to Britain asking that representative government be granted to the Colony.

but the whole constitutional issue was still governed by the fact that the British Government held that slaves without freedom and a frontier without peace were problems that had precedence over the introduction of constitutional reforms, especially at a time when expenditure regularly exceeded revenue, as it did in the decade following 1825. However, two thousand people at a meeting in Cape Town in 1832 sent another petition to the King-in-Council, the Reformed Parliament met in Great Britain, the Emancipation of the Slaves Bill was passed and in January, 1834, Sir Benjamin D'Urban arrived in the Colony as Governor to introduce a new constitution establishing what is known as a Crown Colony type of government. The Executive Council consisted of the Governor and four senior officials, namely the chief military officer, the Secretary to Government, Treasurer and Auditor-General, while the Legislative Council consisted of the same officials and also the Attorney-General and from five to seven colonists nominated by the Governor and holding office during his pleasure and their residence in the Colony. The first nominees were P. L. Cloete, J. B. Ebdon, M. van Breda, C. S. Pillans and J. J. du Toit, all of whom were resident in the Western Province. The Governor summoned all meetings of the Legislative Council, in which he had a deliberative as well as a casting vote, but the establishment of the Council was a real advance on the long road to self-government, for its consent was necessary for any legislation to be passed and it had both freedom of debate and the power of initiating legislation except in regard to certain reserved subjects.

One of the most useful measures passed by the Legislative Council in 1836 was a permissive municipal government ordinance empowering towns to elect Boards of Commissioners for three years to deal with local matters under the presidency of the magistrate. The first of these Boards was established at Beaufort West in 1837 and the second three years later at Cape Town, which had been without any adequate municipal government since the abolition of the Burgher Senate a dozen years before. These Boards were followed by School Committees and in the rural districts by Road Boards in 1843. Thus was valuable training in local government provided in both urban and rural areas and thus was the way prepared for the grant of those representative institutions for which both Cape Town and Grahamstown had petitioned once again in 1841. On this occasion the Colonial Secretary, Lord Stanley, stated, "The Colony was not ripe for such a measure" and enlarged upon some of the difficulties in the way of introducing an elective

assembly—the choice of a capital, the possible separation of the Eastern Province, the coloured franchise and the danger of the townsmen gaining control of the parliament.

However, by 1846 the Whigs were again in power in the British Parliament and the new Colonial Secretary, Earl Grey, decided that the time had come to grant the Cape an elective legislative body, as economically the Colony was in better fettle than it had ever been before, thanks largely to the steady rise in the production of wool. Owing to various local difficulties, the Seventh Kaffir War among them, it was not till 1848 that the Governor, the recently arrived Sir Harry Smith, asked Mr. William Porter, who was Attorney-General for nearly thirty years (1839-1866), to prepare a draft constitution, which was despatched to the Colonial Secretary—who at much the same time caused consternation in the Colony by proposing that the Cape should be made a penal settlement. At Cape Town a mass meeting formed an Anti-Convict Association, and petitions of protest were forwarded to the Queen. Nevertheless, the *Neptune* carrying 282 convicts arrived in September, 1849, but Sir Harry Smith, being bound ultimately to carry out his instructions, decided to keep the convicts on board till he received further orders from the Colonial Secretary in reply to his representations. Thousands undertook not to employ the convicts and pledged themselves to discountenance any persons who assisted in landing or supporting them; while shopkeepers would only supply known customers, though the boycott was never really complete. Mr. C. B. Adderley, afterwards Lord Norton, advocated the cause of the colonists in the House of Commons and in February, 1850, instructions came for the *Neptune* to proceed to Tasmania. A month earlier the Governor had written, "This is the first occasion on which Dutch and English inhabitants coalesced in opposition to Government." In fact the agitation demonstrated that the Colony had become united and had developed a strong public opinion. It was thus ready for the further grant in self-government, to which the authorities in London and Cape Town had been giving serious consideration before the storm arose over the transportation of the convicts.

Also in February, 1850, the Attorney-General's draft constitution, substantially unaltered, was returned with the approval of the Privy Council and the Governor nominated to the Legislative Council representative colonists, chosen from a list submitted to him by the town councils and road boards, to fill in the details of the constitution. Those so nominated were

Christoffel Brand, who had started the *Zuid Afrikan* in 1831; John Fairbairn, son-in-law of the redoubtable Dr. Philip; F. W. Reitz, father of the future President of the Orange Free State; and from the East, Sir Andries Stockenstrom and Robert Godlonton, editor of the *Grahamstown Journal*. These members quarrelled amongst themselves and in the end it was left to Porter to prepare a second draft in detail, and this formed the framework of the constitution finally approved by the Duke of Newcastle as Colonial Secretary in December, 1852.

The actual introduction of the new representative constitution was delayed on account of the Eighth Kaffir War and the first Cape Parliament, the real begetter of the Parliament of the Union of South Africa, was not opened by the Lieutenant-Governor, C. Darling, until the 30th June, 1854. Sir George Grey, ~~the first civilian Governor of the Colony since the Earl of Caledon~~, arrived in December.

The Governor had to convene Parliament at least once a year; he could dissolve both houses of the legislature or the House of Assembly alone; he could approve or veto the bills passed by Parliament or submit them to the Crown, which retained the power to disallow them within two years of their reaching England. The Executive Council was still composed of senior officials appointed by the Colonial Secretary and was responsible to the Governor and not to Parliament, but it could not follow a policy opposed to the wishes of Parliament, which consisted of two houses. The upper house, called the Legislative Council, consisted of fifteen members elected for ten years, seven by the Eastern Province and eight by the Western Province. On the first occasion the four members for each Province with the least number of votes had to retire after five years. Members had to be at least thirty years of age and possess £4,000 worth of general property or land to the value of £2,000. The Chief Justice was the President of the Council, but he had not the right of voting. The lower house, the House of Assembly, had a membership of 46, elected for five years by 22 constituencies, Cape Town alone being represented by four members. The Speaker—Christoffel Brand was the first—was elected by the members and he had a casting vote. The franchise was a liberal one and remained unchanged for almost forty years. The vote was given to all adult male British subjects, who earned at least £50 a year or had occupied for at least a year property with a minimum rental value of £25 per annum. Thus was Ordinance 50 carried to its logical conclusion and a policy of political equality based on civilization and not on colour introduced by

the new constitution. In the next year the Cape Parliament established the Divisional Councils as an experiment in local government in rural areas. These bodies took over the duties of both Road Boards and School Committees and did much towards making the Cape politically the soundest part of the Union of South Africa.

There were many reasons for the delay in the grant of representative government to the Cape. In its first years as a British colony the attitude of the London Government to the establishment of representative institutions in the colonies was still influenced by the loss—as a result of the War of Independence (1775-1783)—of thirteen American colonies, all of which had had local parliaments, and by the fact that the British Government had experienced great difficulty in getting the elected legislatures in the West Indian islands to improve the condition of the slave population in the West Indies. Consequently the Cape had no hope of obtaining an elected parliament until after the emancipation of the slaves had been effected. Moreover, as a result of the Philanthropic Movement which influenced governing circles in Britain, the authorities believed that it was their duty to safeguard the interests of the various coloured races at the Cape. In this connection it should be noted that the native problems of the Australian, New Zealand and Canadian colonies taken together were not equal in complexity to the problem with which the Cape authorities had to deal. Again, the British Government believed, until the Anti-Convict Agitation showed it was possible for the English and Dutch colonists to work together politically, that the holding of elections would cause friction between the two European sections of the population, as elections would tend to be fought on racial lines. The early sessions of the Cape Parliament appeared to justify this belief for there was a distinct cleavage between the members from the Western and Eastern Provinces, the latter for long opposing all attempts to introduce responsible government and at one stage working for the separation of the British East from the Dutch West. Then the Colony had a large area and a small, scattered population. In 1830 there were only some 54,000 Europeans and, perhaps, 66,000 others in the Colony, while in the year the first Cape Parliament was opened the population had risen to 140,000 Europeans and 210,000 others. The communications of the Colony were undeveloped—the first railway was not opened till 1863—and so it was difficult to organize elections and to arrange for members to come to Parliament whether it be held in Cape Town or Grahamstown, (as was

suggested repeatedly by Eastern Province members.) The Colony was not financially self-supporting till in the 'fifties the production of wool began to increase and turned the scale, at any rate for some years. All these factors played a part in delaying the grant of representative government to the Cape Colony until the middle of the century.

Almost immediately after the introduction of the new constitution, resolutions in favour of responsible government were lost in the House of Assembly in 1855 and 1856 owing to the opposition of the Eastern Province members, who feared the control of the executive would fall into the hands of the Western Province. Then the Eastern Province raised the question of its separation from the West, but finally all parties decided to give the parliamentary system a fair trial in an undivided colony. Although both questions were raised again during the absence of Sir George Grey in England in 1860, constitutional questions eventually came to a head during the governorship of Sir Philip Wodehouse, an able and upright man with considerable administrative experience in several crown colonies, who arrived in the Colony at the beginning of 1862 and was to be its executive head during a very difficult period. Throughout the eight years Sir Philip was in the country, the Colony felt the effects of the world economic depression. In his first year of office the Governor had trouble with the Cape Parliament, which refused to take over British Kaffraria from the Imperial Government or to impose additional taxation. Not until 1865 was Kaffraria annexed by the Cape Colony, by the enacting of a bill that also increased the membership of the Legislative Council to 21 and the House of Assembly to 66, including four representatives from Kaffraria. The Western Province still had a majority of one in the upper house and two in the lower.

In 1866 the Governor pleaded for extra taxation to meet the Government deficit occasioned in part by the drought and a decline in the wine trade; but Parliament demanded retrenchment in all branches of the civil service to which the Executive Council refused to consent, and the next year Parliament threw out the Executive's proposed tax on the exportation of wool. The deadlock continued and in 1869 elections took place for the House of Assembly—among the newcomers in the House was Mr. John X. Merriman, who was to have a seat in Parliament till 1924. However, the Assembly declined to consider an income tax of 3d. in the £1 or an excise duty on wine and spirits, and so the Governor dissolved Parliament and appealed to the country

again. By this time the Colony had a public debt of £1,420,000, most of which was due to Britain for advances to meet past deficits. None the less, the deadlock between the executive and legislative branches of the constitution continued, for the new Assembly proved equally unhelpful and was prorogued in May, 1870, just before the Governor's departure from the Cape.

His successor, Sir Henry Barkly, one-time Governor of Victoria, arrived in December with instructions from the Colonial Secretary to introduce responsible government and to summon a conference to consider anew the federation of the various South African states which had first been mooted by Sir George Grey. In the new year the House of Assembly passed a Responsible Government bill by a majority of five, but it was defeated by the Legislative Council owing to Eastern Province opposition. However, it passed both Houses in April, 1872, at the same time as another measure equalizing the representation of the two provinces in the House of Assembly. The British Government readily assented to the change, for by this time the discovery of diamonds and the growth of the ostrich feather industry had made the Cape financially self-supporting. Moreover, the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 had made the Cape less vital to Great Britain as a strategic halfway house on the route to her Indian Empire, while in Britain itself colonial policy was changing in the direction of giving greater freedom to the colonies, as is evidenced by the important pronouncement on colonial matters made in 1872 by Disraeli, the leader of the Opposition, when he referred to the grant of self-government to the colonies, as part of a great policy of imperial consolidation. The collapse of the Second Empire in France in 1870 may also have had some influence, for its fall eased the international situation at the time and made it possible to withdraw British troops from South Africa.

Responsible Government means government by a ministry which is responsible to Parliament and which continues in office only as long as it receives the support of the lower house of Parliament. Thus civil servants appointed by the Colonial Secretary and responsible to him through the Governor ceased to form the Executive Council, which from 1872 consisted of a Prime Minister without any other portfolio and four other ministers, all of whom were members either of the House of Assembly or the Legislative Council and belonged to the party in power in the former body. The Cape Government could no longer be ordered by the Imperial Government to do what it did not want to do, though it could have no foreign policy of its own and was bound by many British treaties that affected

the whole Empire and also by various admiralty and merchant shipping laws. However, the Governor had to act on the advice of the Cabinet in regard to local matters, though as High Commissioner he still had considerable powers in territories beyond the borders of the Cape Colony. Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Molteno, a landowner and business man of Beaufort West, who had been a member of the Cape Parliament since its inauguration, became the first Prime Minister, the other members of his Cabinet being Dr. T. White as Treasurer and J. H. de Villiers as Attorney-General, with C. A. Smith in charge of Lands and Works and C. Brownlee of Native Affairs. The next year the Ministry suffered a loss when Henry de Villiers became Chief Justice, a position he was to fill with great distinction until the Cape Colony became merged in the Union of South Africa thirty-seven years later and he became the first Chief Justice of the Union. The first Cabinet assumed office at a favourable time, for in 1872 the total receipts of the Cape Treasury, namely £1,160,000, were double what they had been in 1869.

The Cape Colony obtained responsible government some twenty years after most of the Canadian and Australian colonies had received it. This delay was the result of several factors. The political feud between the Eastern and Western Provinces had much to do with it. The Dutch-speaking West for long had greater political power and so the English-speaking East opposed responsible government. This attitude was supported to some extent by the British Government, which believed the grant of complete self-government might intensify the differences between the two white races—a difficulty that did not arise in the Australian and New Zealand colonies. Moreover, the British Government through its control of the Executive Council regarded itself as the protector of the various coloured races in the Cape Colony. Neither in Canada nor in Australia was there a native problem comparable to that of the Cape in size or complexity. Again, the Cape was not financially self-supporting till the early 'seventies and complete self-government is based on the principle of financial responsibility. Hitherto the deficit of the Cape Government had been made good by the British Government, which also provided for the upkeep of troops on the Eastern Frontier as well as in the Peninsula itself. If the Cape Colony obtained responsible government in these circumstances, the British taxpayer might claim that it was a case of taxation without representation—that policy was made in S. Africa and paid for in Britain. Therefore, until the C.

it was necessary for the British Government to maintain at least a measure of financial control through the official Executive Council.

In the period between the grant of responsible government and the entry of the Cape Colony into the Union of South Africa, there were few changes in the constitution. In 1874 the Legislative Council was altered to consist of 21 members elected for seven years, three from each of the seven circles into which the quarrelsome Eastern and Western Provinces were divided. From 1882, as the result of an unopposed motion, Dutch could be used in Parliament and as a medium of instruction in certain schools, and two years later English and Dutch were placed on an equal footing in the Magistrates' Courts and all public bills were to be presented to Parliament in both languages. During the premiership of Cecil Rhodes in 1892 the franchise qualifications were raised to prevent the 'blanket' Kaffirs of the Transkeian territories from obtaining the right of voting. The salary qualification was abolished, the occupational qualification raised from £25 to £75 per annum, and in addition voters had to be able to write their names and occupations. It is of interest to note that when responsible government was introduced no change was made in the franchise laws of the Cape, which at that time had been in force for twenty years, although with the annexation of British Kaffraria in 1865 many more Bantu had been made subject to the Cape Government. However, with the absorption of the Transkeian territories into the Colony a bill was passed in 1886 enacting that "no person be deemed to be a registered voter by reason of holding land on tribal or communal tenure", but at the same time attempts to introduce a different franchise for coloured voters were defeated and so when the franchise laws were amended six years later, as described above, the alteration applied to all voters alike and the principle of equality between all citizens, which derived from Ordinance 50, remained unchanged in the Cape Colony, whose parliamentary forms and traditions were to become the solid basis upon which the constitution of the Union of South Africa was subsequently built.

(B) The Extension of the Eastern Frontier

In Chapter VIII it was shown how after a brief interlude the Eastern Frontier of the Cape Colony was moved back to the Keiskama River in 1836 and Captain Andries Stockenström was made Lieutenant-Governor of the Eastern Districts with instructions to introduce the treaty system. These actions were

regarded by the Xosa chiefs merely as a temporary lull in European aggression. It is at this point that we have to pick up the threads of frontier policy again.

After the restoration of the Keiskama-Kei territory to them the Xosa tribes became increasingly restless and the treaty system gradually broke down, although during his governorship Sir P. Maitland made some attempt to revive the treaties in 1844. Frontier restlessness was intensified by a prolonged drought in the early and middle 'forties and the crops in the summer of 1845-1846 were especially poor on account of the failure of the seasonal rains and swarms of locusts. These conditions, as in the past, caused cattle thefts to become more frequent. Two incidents brought matters to a head early in 1846. Followers of the Chief Sandili attacked a military survey party on the Xosa side of the Tyumie River and in March a Xosa, who had been arrested for theft, was set free by some of his compatriots and the chiefs refused to surrender the culprits. Colonel Hare set out for Sandili's kraal at the head of 1,500 men—the Seventh Kaffir War had begun. This force lost 125 wagons in an ambush at Burnshill and the Colony was invaded. The operations undertaken by General Somerset, a son of the old Governor, aided by a commando under Sir Andries Stockenstrom—he had been made a baronet in 1840—resulted in the expulsion of the Xosas from the Colony, the relief of Fort Peddie and the defeat of the chiefs at Gwanga River. Though the British troops received little help from colonial commandos, in the new year General Berkeley forced one chief after another to surrender. It was left for the new Governor, the determined and impulsive Sir Harry Smith, who reached Cape Town in December, 1847, to arrange the terms of peace at the end of a war that had cost the Imperial Treasury one million pounds.

Ten years previously—in the days when he was Colonel Smith—the Governor had had some experience of frontier difficulties during the Sixth Kaffir War and subsequently when he was in charge of the short-lived Province of Queen Adelaide. He realized that though the treaty system worked admirably with native princes in India, Bantu chiefs could not be treated as rulers of sovereign states and so the Glenelg-Stockenstrom Treaty System was declared at an end. The Ceded Territory between the Fish and Keiskama became a district of the Cape Colony under the name of Victoria East, loyal Fingos being settled in the north while the rest of the territory was opened up to European settlement. Then the Keiskama-Kei territory

Kingwilliamstown became the centre of government, while East London at the mouth of the Buffalo River was annexed to the Cape Colony and became the port for British Kaffraria. The military villages of Juanasburg, Woburn, Auckland and Ely were established in the region of the Tyumie for soldier settlers, and other European farmers were placed in the vicinity of mission stations. Reserves were allotted to the various tribes and in these the Xosas were to be governed by their chiefs under the supervision of magistrates. Thus was the attempt to maintain territorial segregation abandoned and a beginning made with the experiment of ruling Black and White as inhabitants of one community.

There was an uneasy lull for three years and then the Eighth Kaffir War broke out in 1850, for the Xosas had been exhausted rather than defeated in the previous war and had made peace only to suit their own ends. They resented both the loss of their land and government control in British Kaffraria, while Umlanjeni, a witch doctor, saying he was Chief Makana returned to life and possessed of charms against bullet wounds, stirred up trouble amongst the restless tribesmen. In October the Chief Sandili refused to attend a meeting called by the Governor. He was promptly deposed and subsequently a force was sent to apprehend him.

This column under Colonel Mackinnon suffered severe casualties in an engagement in the Boomah Pass and on Christmas Day three of the military villages fell to the Xosas. The Cape Colony itself was invaded and the Hottentots in the Kat River area rebelled, while the commando system broke down completely, as few colonists volunteered to serve. Thus Sir Harry Smith was forced to remain on the defensive until reinforcements from Great Britain could reach the Cape in the middle of 1851, especially as trouble had also arisen in the territory north of the Orange which he had annexed in 1848 as the Orange River Sovereignty. On the 26th February, 1852, there occurred the wreck of the troopship *Birkenhead*, with a loss of 437 lives on her way from Simon's Bay to East London. There were over 600 on board, but the boats could hold only 150. The women and children were saved, but the soldiers were drawn up on deck by their officers and went down with the ship.

Their courage and discipline have been commemorated in Sir Henry Yule's poem, "The Birkenhead":

Not with the cheer of battle in the throat,
Or cannon-glare din to stir their blood,
But roused from dreams of home to find their boat

Fast sinking, mustered on the deck they stood,
Biding God's pleasure and their chief's command.
Calm was the sea, but not less calm that band
Close ranged upon the poop, with bated breath,
But flinching not though eye to eye with death.
Heroes! Who were those heroes? Veterans steeled
To face the King of Terrors mid the scaith
Of many a hurricane and trenched field?
Far other : weavers from the stocking-frame;
Boys from the plough; cornets with beardless chin,
But steeped in honour and in discipline.

A month after this disaster Sir Harry was superseded by General the Hon. Sir George Cathcart, a younger son of the first Earl Cathcart. One after another the chiefs surrendered to the new Governor, who before the end of the year was able to turn his attention to the disturbed state of affairs in the Sovereignty. So ended the longest and most expensive of the Cape frontier wars, which had cost the British taxpayer £2,000,000. In view of the policy of the British Government, which had just recognized the independence of the Transvaalers by the Sand River Convention and was already arranging for the abandonment of the Sovereignty, Cathcart could not extend British responsibilities by the annexation of native territories beyond the Kei, so after the collapse of this rebellion in British Kaffraria he merely forfeited certain tribal lands in Victoria East and Kaffraria, though the latter territory was still largely composed of reserve lands ruled by chiefs under European guidance. None the less the policy of White settlement followed in British Kaffraria from this time has been responsible for reducing the Cis-Kei to its present state—a veritable chequerboard of small black and white squares.

In December, 1854, Sir George Grey arrived at the Cape to take the place of General Cathcart, who had left the Colony and met a soldier's death in the Crimea. The new Governor soon realized that, despite his predecessor's settlement, frontier problems required his earnest attention. Before his civilizing policy had time to take effect, there occurred in 1857 that strange event known both as the Cattle Killing and as the National Suicide of the Xosas. Moshesh, the wily Basuto chief, was the moving spirit behind it, for he planned to embroil the Cape Colony in a Xosa war preparatory to his own contemplated attack on the newly-established Orange Free State Republic. In conjunction with Krelh who was generally

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starving Xosas on a raid into the Colony. Their chief mouth-piece was a witch doctor, Umhlakaza, who was aided by several user prophets, all of whom told the superstitious tribesmen that the great Xosa warriors of the past would return to life, a hurricane drive the Europeans into the sea, new cattle and grain appear and the sun set in the East on February 18th provided all their existing cattle and crops were destroyed before that date. Despite the efforts of missionaries and officials, who tried to dissuade them from doing so, Kreli's orders to destroy cattle and grain were carried out both in Kaffraria and in the Native territories east of the Kei. Sir George Grey sent food and troops to the frontier, but on February 18th, when nothing untoward happened, he was as suppliants and not as conquerors that the Xosas entered the Colony.

The results of the Cattle Killing were far-reaching. The power of the Xosa was broken for at least twenty years, until a new generation of young warriors could grow up, for the death toll was enormous both in Kaffraria and beyond the Kei. British Kaffraria was open for European settlement on a large scale, or as a result of death and dispersion there were only some 7,000 survivors in the territory out of a Bantu population of 205,000. In the Cape Colony there was a plentiful supply of cheap native labour since the Xosa movement into the Colony at this time was one of economic submission. Thus Sir George Grey was able to despatch most of the Imperial troops in S. Africa to India to assist in the suppression of the Mutiny which had broken out in the same year. The Governor was also able to make up his frontier policy anew. In the vacant lands in British Kaffraria he settled some 6,000 Europeans, many of the men being members of the German Legion that had fought with the British Army in the Crimea War, and so the policy of segregation was finally abandoned in Kaffraria. In the small reserves that remained the power of the magistrates was increased as that of the chiefs was correspondingly reduced. Grey's civilizing policy was renewed, better wages being offered to encourage the Bantu to work on the construction of roads both in the Colony and in Kaffraria and industrial schools and hospitals were founded to counteract the influence of the witch doctors over the superstition-ridden Bantu.

After Grey's departure for New Zealand, his successor, Sir P. Wodehouse, who arrived in January, 1862, realized that British Kaffraria, which had just been given a Crown Colony constitution, was too poor and too small to continue on its own and determined that it should become part and parcel of

the Cape Colony. However, at the time the Cape Parliament would have none of it and not until 1865 did the Cape Government annex Kaffraria. About the same time the proposal, first mooted by Grey, of settling Europeans in the territory between the Kei and Bashee was abandoned owing to the military expenditure it would involve and so Krelî stayed on unmolested in Galekaland. Nevertheless the Colonial Government was being drawn more and more into the affairs of the independent Native tribes in the land across the Kei, where it was represented by sundry diplomatic agents among whom Charles Brownlee and J. M. Orpen were the most experienced and successful. Later Orpen was sent to assist Adam Kok in Nomansland, where many of the Griquas from north of the Orange River had been moved in the years after 1862. Much about the same time that magistrates were appointed in Griqualand East, they were sent also to Tembuland between the Bashee and Umtata Rivers.

Soon afterwards the Ninth—and last—Kaffir War broke out in 1877, as a result of a quarrel between the loyal Fingos and the Galekas and the refusal of Krelî to attend a meeting in August summoned by the Governor, Sir Bartle Frere. Thereafter both sides drifted into hostilities in which Sandili's tribe within the colonial borders soon joined. The colonists gave little assistance to the authorities and, as the Colonial Government had neglected its own defence measures, Imperial troops once again bore the brunt of the fighting. Krelî was crushed at Kentani in February, 1878, and Sandili was killed in battle four months later in the Cis-Kei. The latter's tribal lands were forfeited, but at first beyond the Kei there were no fresh annexations of Native territory, though there was a considerable extension of European control, for Krelî's Galekaland was formed into a magistracy under the able Captain Blyth, and Griqualand East was placed under the control of Mr. C. Brownlee. In the same year General Sir Frederick Thesiger—soon to become Lord Chelmsford—hoisted the British flag at the mouth of the Umzimvubu River, where a small stretch of land to be known as Port St. John's was ceded by the Chief of West Pondoland to the British Government in return for £1,000.

The Disarmament Act to deprive the Native tribes of their firearms was passed by the Cape Parliament in 1879 and led not only to the War of Disarmament in Basutoland for whose government the Cape Colony had assumed responsibility in 1871, but also to trouble on the Eastern Frontier notably in Griqualand East, which was annexed by the Cape in 1879 at the same time as the Fingo part of the Transkei. Most of the other territories

except West and East Pondoland, were controlled by magistrates and disarmament was carried out with moderate success, though the rebellion it provoked in Griqualand East was followed by the settlement of Europeans on lands previously held by Griquas.

In 1884 the Cape Government not only took over Port St. John's—not to mention Walvis Bay on the West Coast—from the British Government but also annexed all Galekaland and Tembuland, though at the same time the Colonial authorities persuaded Britain to relieve the Cape of Basutoland and to establish a vague protectorate over the Pondoland coast. Two years later a show of military force on the part of the Cape warned off German concession hunters in Pondoland and, moreover, had a calming effect on the restiveness of the Pondo chiefs. Finally in September, 1894, Cecil Rhodes, the Cape Prime Minister, was instrumental in securing the annexation of Pondoland by the Cape Colony and thus at long last the north-eastern frontier of the Colony coincided with the southern frontier of Natal. Rhodes was the first Premier of the Cape to assume the portfolio of Native Affairs and his famous Glen Grey Act, which encouraged the Bantu to own land on European tenure and established district councils of natives with power to raise rates for local purposes, was applied first to the Glen Grey District of the Cis-Kei in 1894 and soon afterwards to several districts of the Transkei. Subsequently it was extended with great success throughout the Native territories beyond the Kei and so inaugurated a new phase in Cape native policy that was reminiscent of the Liberalism of earlier days and, ultimately, was to have a beneficial effect on the native policy of the Union of South Africa.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE STORY OF NATAL

(A) Events before the Great Trek

Little is known of the history of the savage tribes of South-Eastern Africa before they came into contact with Europeans, but certain it is that the halting of the advance of the Bantu tribes on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony had a considerable influence on the tribes in their rear in what is now the Province of Natal. Their natural quarrelsomeness was intensified by the competition for grazing land which was growing more and more inadequate for their needs and in a time of depression and disorder there developed the military organization of the Zulus, who began to plunder their weaker neighbours under the leadership of their cruel and ambitious chief, Chaka. This leader of a "whirling mass of tribesmen" was the son of a petty chieftain and as a boy had entered the service of the Zulu chief, Dingiswayo, whom he succeeded in 1816 in control of the tribe. Within four years, when he was about 35 years of age, Chaka had established a military despotism that exerted its control over all the territory from Delagoa Bay to the Umzimvubu River. Then, in 1826 Moselikatze, the leader of one of his impis, quarrelled with the Chief and fled the country with his followers. They came to be called the Matabele and ravaged much of the land to the north of the Vaal River. In September, 1828, Chaka met the common fate of tyrants, when he was murdered by his brothers, one of whom, Dingaan, succeeded him as chief. Despite the period of the Chaka wars, termed the Mfecane or "the crushing," the Voortrekkers did not enter a land denuded of population and swept bare, for in the wars of primitive peoples casualties were light and, though native dwellings and crops were easily destroyed, huts were soon rebuilt and the illimitable veld provided at least the means of a bare existence.

A dozen or so years before the trekkers entered Natal, some British traders settled on their own responsibility at Port Natal in 1824 on land that Chaka had ceded to them. Before long many Native refugees gathered in the settlement and sought the protection of the traders. The first party was led by Lieutenant

F. G. Farewell and in the following year he was joined by J. S. King. These two leaders both died within a few years but the settlement continued, though it was not recognized by the British Government as a possession. In 1835 Captain Allan Gardiner arrived at Port Natal to prepare a way for the establishment of Anglican missions, while the settlement was renamed Durban in honour of the Cape Governor and the settlers requested that it be made a British Colony as the District of Victoria. But the Colonial Secretary, Lord Glenelg, would not agree to annexation, though he allowed Sir Benjamin D'Urban to send a magistrate to Port Natal to enforce the provisions of the Cape of Good Hope Punishment Bill (1836), which made all British subjects south of latitude 25° liable to the Cape Courts. In this capacity Captain Gardiner returned to Natal in 1837 some months before the arrival of Retief, and in December of the following year General Sir George Napier, who had succeeded D'Urban at the Cape, sent Major Charters in command of a hundred men to Port Natal, where he arrived just before the battle of Blood River; he also urged the Colonial Secretary to establish a government there subordinate to that of the Cape Colony. However, twelve months later the troops were withdrawn—in the same month the Colonial Secretary wrote a despatch consenting to the annexation of Natal provided it entailed no great expense, but it reached the Cape too late by several months and the Voortrekkers led by Pretorius were left to deal with the situation in Natal as they might.

(B) The Republic of Natal, 1839-1843

In Chapter IX (The Great Trek) an account was given of the events leading to the establishment of the Republic of Natal—the arrival of the Voortrekkers in Natal, in October, 1837; the murder of Retief and his compatriots in the following February; the destruction of Port Natal by the Zulus in April and their final defeat by Andries Pretorius at Blood River in December, 1838. With the establishment of the town of Pietermaritzburg in January, 1839, the Republic of Natal came into being in the territory between the Tugela and Umzimvubu Rivers, which Dingaan had ceded to Retief, and a year later, after the death of Dingaan in Swaziland, his brother, Panda, was recognized by the trekkers as Chief of the Zulus and ruled his domains to the north of the Tugela as a vassal of the Republic. As befitted a small community, the republican constitution was a simple one. A Volksraad of twenty-four members was elected annually and met on four occasions in the year at Maritzburg,

a new president, who was little more than a chairman, being elected each time. It had supreme legislative and executive powers and was also the Court of Appeal. In addition there was a commandant-general, and landdrosts and field-cornets were appointed with the usual powers. A loose federation was arranged with the other trekkers at Potchefstroom and Winburg. Thus the trekkers under the leadership of Pretorius, having acquired a port, established some sort of unity among themselves and the Natal Volksraad then raised the question of the recognition of their independence by the British Government, but in September, 1841, Sir George Napier replied, "Her Majesty has desired me to inform the emigrant farmers that she cannot acknowledge a portion of her own subjects as an independent Republic." The Cape Governor himself had been in favour of the annexation of Natal for some time, as several factors had convinced him of the necessity for this step.

In the first place towards the end of 1840 a commando headed by Pretorius attacked Ncapai, a Baca chief living on the southern borders of the Republic, who was suspected of stealing cattle from farmers in Natal. The Natalians carried off three thousand head of cattle as compensation and also seventeen children as apprentices. Ncapai's neighbour, the Pondo chief, Faku, feared his turn would come next and, acting on the advice of a Wesleyan missionary working with his people, he appealed to the Cape Governor for protection. This resulted in the sending of Captain J. C. Smith and 150 men to Pondoland in January, 1841. At the end of the same year British intervention was brought nearer by the proposal of the Volksraad to draft superfluous natives from the Republic into the land between the Umtamvuna and Umzimvubu Rivers close to Faku's territory, a proceeding which would in all probability cause those very repercussions among the independent tribes beyond the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony that every governor feared. Moreover, commercial interests in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown had long been urging the Governor to take action, as they feared the trade of the interior might pass out of their hands into those of the American and Dutch traders, whose ships had been calling at Port Natal from time to time.

For these reasons Sir George Napier ordered Captain Smith to advance overland from Pondoland to Port Natal, which his troops reached in May, 1842. They were promptly besieged by Pretorius, but Dick King, one of the settlers at Port Natal,

ped from the British camp and rode the six hundred miles Grahamstown for reinforcements. Colonel J. Cloete arrived sea and raised the siege in June. In the succeeding months there was general confusion and the authority of the Republican Government began to go to pieces, but Napier awaited further orders from the Colonial Secretary before formally annexing the Republic and it was not until May, 1843, that Natal was proclaimed a British Colony with Henry Cloete, a brother of the Colonel, as Commissioner. Apparently the final argument that convinced the somewhat reluctant British Government to retain Natal was their belief that Louis Philippe, King of the French, was interested in the territory and that it was the intrigues of the French Government that had encouraged the Natalians to resist British forces.

The Colony of Natal, 1843-1910

British Natal was much smaller in area than the Republic, in 1845, when it was declared to be a dependency of the Cape Colony with a Lieutenant-Governor and Executive Council of officials, the boundaries were defined as the Tugela and Buffalo Rivers on the north and the Umzimkulu River on the south.

Zulus were regarded as an independent tribe, while Faku, Pondo Chief, had been recognized in the previous year as ruler of all the territory between the Umzimkulu and Umtata Rivers. However, being dissatisfied with Cloete's settlement of land claims and with the granting of reserves in Natal to refugees from Zululand, many Boers had left Natal for Potchefstroom and Winburg; but when Sir Harry Smith visited the interior soon after his arrival in South Africa in December, 1847, induced some of them to return to Natal, which he visited again in the new year. Nevertheless, despite the arrival of settlers from overseas, in 1856 there were still only 8,000 Europeans in Natal among a Bantu population of 150,000.

The abandonment of the Orange River Sovereignty in 1854 ended the territorial connection of Natal with other British territory and thus made it inconvenient to rule Natal any longer as a detached district of the Cape Colony. Consequently it was made a separate colony in 1856 with a Lieutenant-Governor, Executive Council of officials and a Legislative Council of fifteen members, of whom four were officials and the others elected on a liberal franchise for four years. Tribal natives were excluded from the franchise and actually very few natives obtained it. The next year saw the establishment of a Supreme Court and some years later two colonists were given

seats on the Executive Council, but Responsible Government was not attained till 1893 when the Natal Government consisted of a Governor, a Cabinet of six members and two houses of Parliament: a Legislative Council of eleven members nominated for ten years and a House of Assembly of 37 elected for four years.

The two most important problems with which the authorities of the separate Colony of Natal had to deal were the Asiatic and Zulu questions. The former originated as a result of the introduction of sugar-cane from Mauritius, which within a few years promised to do well in the coastal belt of Natal provided it could be cultivated on a large scale. As the Bantu could not be induced to leave their reserves to work on the sugar plantations, the Natal authorities made arrangements with the Government of India to import Indian coolies at government expense on a three years' indenture, which they could renew for one or two years. The employers had to reimburse the government and pay the labourers 10s. to 12s. a month and provide for their keep. After the expiration of their contracts the Indians were free to work for whom they liked and then after five years they were entitled to a free return passage or the equivalent of its cost in Crown land. The first batch arrived in November, 1860, and within five years about 6,500 Indians were brought to Natal. Then the number of immigrants declined for some years, but in the ten years following 1874 some 30,000 Indians entered Natal. At the time it was thought their arrival would serve the interests of the Europeans and that they would add to the prosperity of the colony by the development of the sugar industry, as they had in Mauritius. It was only later, on account of their low standard of living, that the Indians were regarded as unwelcome strangers forcing themselves upon a European community that did not want them, though the Orange Free State quite early in its history passed laws forbidding Asiatics and other coloured persons from trading or carrying on any business whatsoever within the Republic. In 1885 the South African Republic also passed restrictive legislation against Asiatics, while a policy of differentiation against Indians was begun in Natal when they were disfranchised in 1893. At length in 1911 the Government of India forbade further recruiting of Indian labour for Natal, and two years later the newly-formed Union Government not only prohibited the entry of 'free' Asiatics into the country (with the exception of the wives and children of Indians already domiciled in South Africa) but also practically stopped the migration of Indians from one province of the Union to another.

never, it was not until 1923 that the European population in Natal at last overtook the Asiatic. In 1940 there were in Natal 100,000 Indians, mostly South African born, but it is interesting to note that only about 4 per cent. of these were employed on the large estates. To a consideration of the Indian problem in the Union we shall return later.

The history of Natal's Native policy for the first thirty years of the Colony's existence is very largely the record of the policy of Theophilus Shepstone, a missionary's son, who had grown up among the Xosas on the Cape eastern frontier. From 1845-1877, first as Diplomatic Agent and subsequently as Secretary of Native Affairs, this able official was in control of the Native Affairs Department in Natal. In this capacity he rendered great service to the Colony and did much for the welfare of European and Native alike. His policy was based on the two fundamental principles of segregation and racial differentiation, for he neither approved of the policy of equality favoured by the early missionaries nor of the policy of repression advocated by the majority of the Natal colonists. Within a couple of years of taking over the control of Native affairs in the colony he had established eight reserves with a total area of over a million acres and a population of some eighty thousand. In these reserves he re-created the tribal system, for under the supervision of magistrates and police the chiefs administered Native law, so long as it was not in conflict with European ideas of justice, with the right of appeal to the Governor as Supreme Chief; which in effect meant Shepstone, who advised successive governors on all matters concerning the Native population. It was Shepstone's policy of guiding the Natives to progress along their own lines that was something both new and constructive in Native policy in S. Africa and distinguished the policy of Natal from that of the Cape Government, which as we have seen did not follow the path of discrimination in dealing with the Coloured and Native peoples of the Cape Colony. It has been said in criticism of Natal policy that the authorities controlled rather than civilized the Bantu peoples. It must be admitted that the criticism is justified, for even to-day, though the tribal Natives of Natal are a kindly, faithful and law-abiding people, they can hardly be called civilized. Shepstone at any rate wished to civilize them, but the chronic financial stringency of the Natal Government in his day prevented him from achieving much in this direction, although by long personal contact he won the confidence of the Natives in the Natal reserves as well as of the independent Zulu Chief and his tribesmen. In fact during

Shepstone's long period of office the only serious trouble was the Langalibalele Rising in 1873. This Hlubi chief resident in North-Western Natal had caused certain government messengers to be searched and his arrest was ordered, but he fled to Basutoland. However, after some delay he was handed over to the Natal authorities, his lands were confiscated and after a summary trial he was sent to Robben Island. The high-handed methods adopted by the officials in settling this affair led to a chorus of protest in which the voice of Dr. J. W. Colenso, Bishop of Natal, was strongest.

But in the distance was looming a greater danger that threatened the very existence of the little Colony of Natal. This was the menace of Cetewayo's independent Zululand to the north of the Tugela. Cetewayo had succeeded his father, Panda, as Chief of the Zulus in 1873 and the following year in the presence of Shepstone he made promises of good government, but soon afterwards he began to raise and train a large army that was a potential danger both to Natal and the Transvaal. Cetewayo and the Republic had been engaged in dispute for some years over the control of the Blood River territory, which is now part of the Utrecht District of Natal, and when Britain annexed the Transvaal in 1877 the dispute continued, until a commission was appointed the next year and awarded some of the territory to Cetewayo. This encouraged the Chief in his truculent attitude, while the drought in the previous summer followed by much disease among the cattle of his tribesmen caused them to become restless. Then two wives of a Zulu chief were seized in Natal territory and executed in Zululand, but Cetewayo refused to surrender the murderers to the colonial authorities; and shortly afterwards a survey party of Royal Engineers was attacked by Zulus. In December, 1878, the High Commissioner and Cape Governor, Sir Bartle Frere (while on a visit to Natal) believing further delay in dealing with Cetewayo would be dangerous, sent him an ultimatum demanding *inter alia* the reception of a British Resident in Zululand, the disarmament of the Zulus and submission within thirty days. No reply was received and so the British troops in Natal commanded by General Lord Chelmsford marched into Zululand. Thus did the great Zulu War begin in January, 1879. The war opened with the disaster at Isandhlwana on the 22nd January, when a British camp, which had not been protected by a laager, was surprised by about 24,000 Zulus and most of the garrison were massacred, 832 European soldiers and 491 of their Native allies being killed. Only 51 of the European

son escaped with their lives—of the 598 officers and men of the 24th Regiment only six privates succeeded in escaping. The same day Lieutenants Chard and Bromhead with a force of 150 men, some of whom were wounded, saved Natal from capture at Rorke's Drift on the Buffalo River, where they drove off a force of 4,000 Zulus. Piet Uys and a commando from the Cape District suffered heavy losses at Hlobane Mountain, but when Sir Garnet Wolseley arrived to take over the command at Chelmsford the latter decisively defeated the Zulus at Ulundi. It was in this war that the young Prince Imperial of France, the only son of the Emperor Napoleon III, was killed in a skirmish with Zulus while serving on Lord Chelmsford's staff, and his death ruined the hopes of the Bonapartists' ever regaining political power in France. It was left to General Wolseley to arrange the peace settlement. Cetewayo was made as a prisoner to Cape Town and Zululand was divided into thirteen districts each ruled by a chief advised by a government agent with consular powers only. One of these petty chiefs was Cetewayo, a rival of Cetewayo, and another John Dunn, a renegade Zulu shaman, who had lived in Zululand for some twenty years. Cetewayo was a chief, but had deserted the Zulu cause on the outbreak of the war. Wolseley's policy was one of divide and rule, but his weakness lay in the fact that there was no control over the thirteen districts—hopefully called the "Kilkenny cats!"—and so the scheme failed.

Cetewayo was reinstated in 1883, but on his return civil war broke out anew in Zululand and his death the next year led to still more confusion. Eventually the succession passed to Dinizulu, a minor son of Cetewayo, who was supported by some Boers from the Transvaal, whose leader, Lukas Meyer, made Dinizulu a biblical anointing with a bottle of castor oil. Meyer and his party of three hundred Boers, who had divested themselves of their Transvaal citizenship, secured a cession of land from Dinizulu in May, 1884, and organized the short-lived Orange Free State Republic with Vryheid as the capital. In December 1884 Britain annexed St. Lucia Bay to prevent Dinizulu from turning it to a German agent then resident in the Transvaal. The German and Transvaal Governments protested and so did the Orange Free State Republic, which had lost its outlet to the sea, but no deed was done. However, the British Government recognized President Meyer's miniature republic in 1886 and the next year annexed what was left of Zululand. In July, 1888, the Orange Free State in its turn absorbed the New Republic. In 1895, Britain annexed Tongaland, including Kosi Bay,

and thus cut off the Transvaal from all hope of reaching the sea. Two years later both Zululand and Tongaland were incorporated in the Colony of Natal and somewhat later Natal joined the S. African Customs Union, which the Cape Government had initiated under the inspiration of Cecil Rhodes.

Then came the Boer War and on its conclusion the Utrecht and Vryheid Districts of the Transvaal were added to Natal, whose government in the years before Union had many difficulties with which to contend—customs quarrels with neighbouring colonies, an Asiatic population that still outnumbered the Europeans and, above all, its teeming Bantu population nine times greater than the European population of the Colony. The imposition of a Native poll-tax led to a small rising in a Natal reserve in 1906 and, when the leaders were executed, the more serious Bambata's Rebellion broke out in Zululand. Dinizulu was arrested for his complicity in the affair and was imprisoned for some years at St. Helena, but the rebellion was subdued only with the aid of the Cape Colony and the Transvaal; this helped to convince Natal as well as her neighbours that the little colony on its own was not able to govern thousands of tribal Natives. The realization of this fact played a not unimportant part in bringing nearer the final unification of the South African states in 1910.

CHAPTER TWELVE

TERRITORY BETWEEN THE ORANGE AND THE VAAL

the Period of the Treaty States, 1834-1848

Even some years before the beginning of the Great Trek, Boers, half-castes and Bantu jostled one another in the valley to the north of the Orange River. Of these peoples the half-castes were the most settled and best organized, as a result of the interest that members of the London Missionary Society took in them. As early as 1803 William Anderson had gathered a mixed crowd of Bastards and Hottentots round him at what is now Griqualand West, and ten years later another member of the Society, J. Campbell, renamed these people the Griquas and their settlement Griquatown. He provided them with laws and leaders, Barend Barends and Adam Kok, with a knowledge of law and soon they were joined by another half-caste coming in from the Colony, Andries Waterboer, who soon became the most prominent of them all. In 1819, after the representations of Dr. John Philip, who was now appointed Superintendent of the L.M.S. work in South Africa, Lord Charles Somerset appointed a government agent at Waterboer's headquarters at Griquatown. By 1826 there were three little Griqua states on the banks of the Orange—Andries Waterboer held sway at Griquatown, while Cornelis Kok was settled somewhat to the north at Campbell and his elder brother, Adam, at Philippolis well to the east. Even before the main trek period there were many Boers living in Griqua territory, especially in the area controlled by Adam Kok, on land which they had bought or leased despite the objections raised by the missionaries. If the alienation of Griqua territory continued, it would result in the dispersion of the Griqua tribes and the ruination of the London Missionary Society's work, which had been carried on among them for almost thirty years. Therefore, Dr. Philip, on his visit to Griqualand in 1832, suggested to the Cape Governor that the colonial borders should be extended to include the Griqua states, so that the tribes might be secured in the possession of their lands. The Governor could not accede to this request

on the score of the expense in which it would involve the government, and so Philip recommended that a treaty be arranged with Waterboer and in December, 1834, this was done. By this treaty which Sir Benjamin D'Urban signed just before the outbreak of the Sixth Kaffir War, the Griqua chief was to receive a grant of £100 per annum, two hundred guns and a supply of ammunition. He was also to be given £50 a year for the education of his people and he was to co-operate with the Cape Government in keeping order on the frontier, while a government agent was to live in his territory and the tribal limits were to be defined. The following year civil strife broke out between Abram Kok and the younger Adam on the death of their father, but eventually Adam, the younger of the two sons, gained the ascendancy with the support of the L.M.S. and Waterboer. In the midst of this trouble Waterboer and Adam Kok, ignoring the claims of Cornelis (who had supported Abram) divided the whole of the Griqua lands between themselves by the so-called Ramah-David's Graf-Platberg Line (1838), which was later to figure so prominently in the Diamond Field Dispute.

By this time the Boers, many of them of the less civilized trekker type, had overrun much of the land between the Orange and Vaal Rivers and confusion worse confounded became the order of the day throughout TransOrangia, where Europeans, Griquas, Basuto and countless lesser Bantu tribes impinged on one another's claims. In 1842 Dr. Philip made a lengthy tour of the interior which embraced L.M.S. stations and visits to Adam Kok and the Basuto Chief, Moshesh, and on his return he urged the Governor to annex the Orange-Vaal territory or, alternatively, to extend the Treaty System, for Philip held that failing annexation a policy of segregation would protect the Griqua and Bantu tribes till they were sufficiently civilized to be assimilated within the borders of the Colony. At this time he wrote to Sir George Napier, "as a substitute for the first plan, in the meantime, I beg leave to recommend to Your Excellency that treaties should be entered into with Moshesh and Adam Kok." In the same year while on circuit Judge Menzies, seeing the general disorder in the Griqua states, where about seven hundred Europeans had obtained land, and realizing the chiefs were quite unequal to the task of ruling Europeans, proclaimed British sovereignty over all land south of Latitude 25° and eastward of Longitude 22° to the Indian Ocean; but the Governor, having few troops and little money at his disposal for the assumption of still greater responsibilities of government, immediately repudiated the annexation.

However, in 1843 Napier arranged treaties similar to the one with Waterboer with Adam Kok and with Moshesh, who had joined the Basuto tribe, but the boundaries of their respective territories were badly drawn and endless friction was the result, especially as Moshesh had not settled a long-standing dispute with the Baralong Chief, Moroko, and his Wesleyan missionaries, who had been living for ten years at Thaba Nchu in territory ceded by Moshesh. The next year the chain of Treaty States was completed when Faku, the Pondo Chief, was recognized in recognition of the territory between the Umtata and Umzimkulu.

The objects of all these treaties were really threefold—first, to place the various tribes in the ownership of their tribal lands; second, to keep the colonists within the borders of the Cape Colony; and third, to provide a wall of defence against marauders from the north along the frontiers of the Colony. However, the Treaty of 1843 failed both north of the Orange and on the Cape eastern frontier, as the chiefs at the time were neither sufficiently educated to understand the implications of the treaties and their obligations to the Europeans nor powerful enough to enforce their authority over their subjects. The trouble that actually led to the abandonment of the whole system arose early in 1845, when Adam Kok with a small force of armed Griquas attempted to arrest a Boer in his territory, who had had two coloured men severely flogged. A long fighting resulted between the Griquas and the Boers. Major Sir George Maitland, the Cape Governor, sent up some troops to the scene of hostilities and after a sharp skirmish at Zwartkops the Boers withdrew. In the same month Dr. Philip, who had done his best to make the treaties a success, again failed for annexation. About this time he wrote, "The simplest and only method is to take the Griquas into the Colony and get Moshesh to agree to have a fort in his territory to open the way to Natal open." In June the Governor met the chiefs and other chiefs at Touwfontein and proposed that in this case their lands should be divided into two portions, one to be an unalienable reserve and the other an area in which the natives could lease farms for periods not exceeding forty years.

In the first instance Kok was the only chief to accept the proposal. A portion of his territory between the Riet and the Orange Rivers was declared alienable and Major Warden of the Mounted Rifles was established at the farm Bloemfontein.

Resident with power to control the Europeans in this territory while Adam Kok retained full control over his territory between the Orange and Riet Rivers. Maitland's policy recognized that Black and White would have to share the land between

them and also that it was advisable to keep them apart in view of the very different stages of civilization they had reached, for otherwise the backward coloured race would suffer in competition with the more advanced Europeans.

This settlement was soon carried a stage further. In December, 1847, Sir Harry Smith, who had recently arrived to assume the dual offices of Governor of the Cape Colony and High Commissioner, came north to exercise the power of settling affairs in adjacent territories conferred upon him by the latter office. The High Commissionership had been held for the first time by his predecessor, Sir Henry Pottinger, who had remained in South Africa for only twelve months. Having settled affairs on the Cape eastern frontier and having annexed the huge area south of the Orange from Ramah to the river's mouth, Smith saw Warden at Bloemfontein, persuaded Kok to abandon authority over his alienable land, and passed on to Natal. On February 3rd, 1848, he proclaimed British sovereignty over all the territory bounded by the Orange and Vaal Rivers and the Drakensberg. Thus the Treaty System was brought to an end. Many of the Boers led by Andries Pretorius being dissatisfied with Smith's annexation ejected Major Warden, the British Resident, from Bloemfontein, but Sir Harry came north again, defeated the malcontents at Boomplaats, reinstated Warden and proclaimed the Orange River Sovereignty once more in August, 1848.

(B) The Orange River Sovereignty, 1848-1854

The Europeans in the Sovereignty were governed by a Legislative Council comprising the Resident and the civil commissioner and two burghers from each of the four districts of Bloemfontein, Winburg, Caledon River and Vaal River, while the tribes were controlled by their own chiefs under the general supervision of Major Warden, who was succeeded as Resident by another officer, H. Green, in 1852. Warden, whose main task was the defining of inter-tribal boundaries, was required to keep all the tribes within the limits of their reserves, but he had no force with which to carry out these instructions.

Of all the chiefs living within the confines of the Sovereignty Moshesh was the most able and the most powerful. About 1815 he began to weld the remnants of various tribes dispersed by the Zulu wars into the Basuto nation. He was left in comparative peace from 1824 and consolidated his position in the Lesuto, having his stronghold at Thaba Bosigo, the Mountain of the Night. In 1833 at Moshesh's request three members of

the Paris Evangelical Society headed by Eugene Casalis settled at Morija, where they were soon joined by others. In addition to their religious and educational work, these French missionaries did much to encourage agriculture and were for many years at once the advisers of Moshesh and the unofficial agents of the Cape Government. To-day the French Mission may almost be regarded as the National Church of the Basuto people. Naturally on the establishment of the Sovereignty Moshesh wished to retain the boundary that had been defined in the 1843 treaty, but, in order to include all Europeans under his direct control and to satisfy sundry minor chiefs, Warden in 1849 cut off portions of Basuto territory between the Orange and Caledon Rivers and elsewhere. Moshesh with considerable reluctance recognized the Warden Line, but in depriving the Basuto of much good land and a hundred villages Warden lost the support of the one Bantu Chief in the Sovereignty whose friendship was vital for its peaceful existence.

Friction continued between Moshesh and various petty chiefs whom Moshesh claimed as his vassals and at length Warden decided to interfere to restore peace and order. A small force under Major Donovan attacked the Basuto, but was repulsed at Viervoet in June, 1851. Then the Sovereignty authorities were forced to remain on the defensive until Sir George Cathcart, who had succeeded Smith as Governor and High Commissioner, had the Eighth Kaffir War well in hand and was able to come north with 2,500 troops towards the end of the next year. He demanded the surrender of 10,000 head of cattle within three days, which Moshesh found an impossible task to fulfil, and Cathcart receiving only 3,500 then marched on Thaba Bosigo in December, 1852, narrowly escaping defeat at the Berea. Cathcart retired to his camp and Moshesh to the home of his missionary. Knowing the advantage he had gained was a fleeting one and realizing his resources had been taxed to the utmost, while those of the Great White Queen had been tapped hardly at all, Moshesh at the dead of night roused Mr. Casalis and in his presence instructed his educated son, Nehemiah, to pen a diplomatic offer of peace, which the Governor was all too willing to accept:

Thaba Bosigo, Midnight, 20th Dec., 1852.

Your Excellency,—This day you have fought against my people, and taken much cattle. As the object for which you have come is to have a compensation for Boers, I beg you will be satisfied with what you have taken. I entreat peace from you—you have shown your power—you have chastised—let it be enough I

pray you; and let me be no longer considered an enemy to the Queen. I will try all I can to keep my people in order in the future.

Your humble servant,

Moshesh.

Long ere these events the arrival of Major Hogge and Mr. C. Mostyn Owen as special commissioners to investigate affairs in the Sovereignty and beyond, their recognition of the independence of the Transvaalers by the Sand River Convention in January, 1852, and the recall of the dashing Sir Harry Smith soon afterwards all pointed to the fact that the British Government was contemplating complete withdrawal from the Orange River Sovereignty and in September, 1853, Sir George Russell Clerk arrived to adjust matters in the Sovereignty. Several factors induced him to decide on the abandonment of the territory. Many, probably a small majority, of the European inhabitants were opposed to British rule and desired independence, while in the sight of the British authorities in S. Africa the land appeared to be infertile and unproductive and, moreover, on account of the Basuto it was expensive for the British Government to keep order in the Sovereignty. In Britain itself the "Little Englanders" were in political power and were firm believers in the Manchester Doctrine, which had held sway from the middle 'forties, that a large empire was an unprofitable responsibility for Great Britain. The Government regarded colonies somewhat coldly, and the Colonial Secretary, Earl Grey, wrote to the new Governor in January, 1852, "Apart from the very limited extent of territory required for the security of the Cape of Good Hope as a naval station, the British Commonwealth and nation have no interest whatever in maintaining any territorial dominion." Sir George Clerk, having paid out nearly £50,000 as compensation to those opposed to abandonment, arranged the Bloemfontein Convention with J. P. Hoffmann and other Boer leaders in February, 1854. The previous November the Colonial Secretary had written to Clerk, "With regard to the native chiefs and tribes, these will of course assume their former independence as soon as the rule of Great Britain terminates." Thus when part of the Sovereignty became the Orange Free State Republic, the new government duly recognized the somewhat uncertain rights of Adam Kok, Waterboer and Moshesh as chiefs of independent tribes, accepting somewhat later the Vetberg Line which Adam Kok laid down to divide the land of Waterboer from that of Cornelis Kok; in the Convention the British Government undertook to arrange no treaties with chiefs north of the Orange River that would be harmful to the interests of the Free State and for its

part the Republic guaranteed that it would not tolerate slavery within its territory.

Thus the Orange Free State Republic with a white population of some 12,000 came into being and yet another European government was set up to add to the general confusion and balkanization of the sub-continent. The policy inaugurated by the Sand River and Bloemfontein Conventions put the clock back in S. Africa for many years, for these agreements contained the seeds of a dispute that was to keep the country disunited for half a century to come.

(C) The Orange Free State Republic, 1854-1900

The little pastoral republic soon provided itself with a constitution, which proved to be the most satisfactory of the numerous republican constitutions drafted at one time or another in S. Africa. The Volksraad of twenty-nine members, half of whom were to retire every two years, was to be elected by the burghers for four years, while the President was also to be elected for five years from the nominees of the Volksraad by the direct vote of the male citizens. His Executive Council was to consist of two officials, namely the Landdrost of Bloemfontein and the State Secretary, and three members of the Volksraad. In war-time a Commandant-General was elected by the commandants and there were the usual landdrosts, three of whom formed a circuit court. In September, 1854, J. P. Hoffmann, who was known to have influence with the Basuto Chief, Moshesh, became the first President of the Republic.

It soon became evident that the proximity of Basutoland was to be the cardinal factor in the history of the Orange Free State. When the Sovereignty was abandoned, Sir George Clerk left Moshesh under the impression that he was entitled to regard the Napier Line of 1843 as his frontier with the Republic. Hoffmann, who desired to adjust frontier disputes equitably with Moshesh, was forced to resign in February, 1855, as public opinion was against him and soon J. N. Boshof, who at one time had been President of the Natal Volksraad, ruled in his stead. The next year, Sir George Grey, the very able High Commissioner, induced both the Free State authorities and Moshesh to accept his Smithfield Treaty, which in regulating sundry questions such as passes and the tracing of cattle, apparently took the Warden Line for granted. Before the O.F.S. had to face serious trouble with the Basuto, President Boshof successfully dealt with the two abortive attempts of M. W. Pretorius, the Transvaal President, to overthrow his government, which resulted in the two republics' recognizing each other's independence. No

sooner had these petty squabbles fizzled out than Moshesh attacked Letele, an O.F.S. subject, who had been harrying the Basuto. The Republic declared war on Moshesh and so the First Basuto War began in the first half of 1858. While a commando besieged Thaba Bosigo, the Basuto ravaged the Free State and the siege had to be abandoned. The burghers disbanded so rapidly to return home to defend their farms, that Boshōf was driven to say that the English ought never to have given up the Sovereignty. Sir George Grey wrote identical letters to the President and the Chief offering to mediate and was accepted by both sides as arbitrator. By the First Treaty of Aliwal North, which was signed in September, the uneasy peace was restored. The Warden Line was generally confirmed, but Moshesh gave up the Beersheba land and the frontier was altered slightly to his advantage between the Orange and Caledon Rivers.

M. W. Pretorius, having resigned the Free State presidency to which he had been elected in 1860, returned to the Transvaal, where he became President for a second time and John Brand, the son of the Speaker of the Cape Parliament, was elected to the vacant presidency at Bloemfontein, a position that he filled with great distinction for almost a quarter of a century. At the request of President Brand the High Commissioner, Sir Philip Wodehouse, informed Moshesh that the 1858 frontier, which his predecessor had mapped out, had to be observed, but as the old chief had really lost control of his tribe the Basuto continued to encroach on Free State territory. At length in June, 1865, President Brand called up his burghers and the Second Basuto War began. Despite a bad opening, the republican forces, though outnumbered by five to one, gradually occupied the grasslands between the Caledon and Orange Rivers and commenced the siege of Thaba Bosigo. As volunteers from the Transvaal, Natal and the Cape Colony were all joining in the struggle, Wodehouse, fearing the outbreak of a general native war, asked the Colonial Secretary for permission to annex Basutoland, as Moshesh had petitioned him to do on the outbreak of hostilities. In the meantime in April, 1866, Moshesh, in order to gain time, signed the Treaty of Thaba Bosigo and surrendered the "Conquered Territory" to the Orange Free State, from which despite the protests of the President the French missionaries were ejected on the orders of the Volksraad. Even the Emperor of the French, Napoleon III, became interested in this matter through the representations of Guizot, one of his ministers, who was an ardent Protestant. Meanwhile Moshesh resumed hostilities in July, 1867, on the grounds that the O.F.S.

had not granted the Basuto locations in the ceded territory as promised. The war showed no signs of ending though on the whole the Free State again had the advantage and so Moshesh renewed his appeal to be made a British subject. In January, 1868, the Colonial Secretary, the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, gave the necessary permission for the incorporation of Basutoland with Natal and in March, having called upon the belligerents to suspend hostilities, the High Commissioner annexed the territory.

The Republic felt that it had been deprived of the fruits of its victory, but the British Government, which was coming round to the view that the abandonment of the Sovereignty had been a mistake, acted for the good of South Africa as a whole : at the time the Orange Free State was not strong enough to govern the Basuto nation. Moreover, if the Basuto were to be deprived of their lands, as the Free State Government intended, the refugees would swarm into Natal and the Cape Colony and continuous strife would result. In 1869 the Volksraad with one dissentient ratified the Second Treaty of Aliwal North, accepting the present boundary of Basutoland, and thus the O.F.S. kept most of the Conquered Territory. In this way the long-contested corn-lands were divided between the Republic and the Basuto. As Dr. de Kiewiet has stated, in his interesting work, *The Imperial Factor in South Africa*, "The subsequent economic and social development of South Africa has never ceased to testify to the wisdom of a policy that thus preserved a great tribe from the loss of its land." Wodehouse, who has rightly been described as a sound governor at a trying time, wished to keep Basutoland as a native reserve under the High Commissioner and had no desire to entrust its government to the Cape Colony or Natal, from which it was separated geographically, but in 1871 it was transferred to the control of the Cape.

The subsequent history of Basutoland can be noted shortly. Moshesh, who was then over eighty, died in March, 1870, and was succeeded by his son, Letsie, but he had lived long enough to save his people from the fate of many other tribes and the Basuto nation of to-day may be regarded as a monument to his wisdom and ability. In 1879 the Cape Parliament passed the Disarmament Act, as noted in Chapter Ten, but some Basuto chiefs refused to give up their arms and this led to the War of Disarmament (1880-1881). Sir Hercules Robinson, in his capacity as High Commissioner, was called in as arbitrator and the chiefs were fined, but allowed to retain their arms. Finally in March, 1884, the Cape Cabinet asked Great Britain to rule Basutoland

as a Crown Colony and this was done. To this day it remains under the Control of the British Government as an enclave within the Union of South Africa.

Soon after the Orange Free State had been relieved of its native problem by the annexation of Basutoland, it was also relieved of a pressing industrial problem which had arisen as a result of the discovery of diamonds in the late 'sixties, and is known as the Diamond Fields Dispute. The economic depression, which all South Africa experienced in the 'sixties, has been discussed in Chapter Ten. It was in the midst of this slump that the first diamond was found at Hopetown in the Cape Colony in April, 1867. The next year diamonds were discovered near the confluence of the Vaal and Harts Rivers and in 1870, at Dutoitspan, where the dry diggings eventually developed into the town of Kimberley. The famous gem known as the "Star of Africa" was picked up in 1869 and sold to Lilienfeld Brothers for £11,200 and purchased from them in turn by the Earl of Dudley for £25,000.

Much of the diamond-bearing land to the north of the Orange had been a matter of dispute for several years before diamonds were discovered and at the time of their discovery the position was complex. Nicholas Waterboer, who had succeeded Andries in 1852, ruled Griquatown. His was the only existing Griqua state, for by 1860 he had acquired the lands of both Cornelis and Adam Kok. The latter having sold his Philippolis reserve to the O.F.S. moved to Nomansland (later known as Griqualand East) in December, 1862, after publicly denying that he had sold to the Free State any of Cornelis Kok's former lands which he had obtained in 1857. Mr. David Arnot, an unscrupulous but able attorney of Colesberg, therefore claimed the whole of what is now Griqualand West for Nicholas Waterboer. The O.F.S. claim to the disputed territory east of the Vaal River rested on the well-established fact that it had been ruled directly by the British Resident as part of the Sovereignty and that Cornelis Kok had only had proprietary rights there; while the Republic's claim to the Campbell lands to the west of the Vaal was not nearly as strong and was based on Adam Kok's questionable Philippolis deed of sale. The O.F.S. was willing to submit to arbitration its claim to the Campbell lands (though not its stronger case for possession of the territory east of the river) or to exchange the land for Albania south of the Vetberg Line, which had been acknowledged as Waterboer's. President Pretorius on behalf of the Transvaal Republic and various Batlapin and Baralong chiefs pressed their

claims to territory along the Vaal and the Maquassi Spruit farther north, and he established the new District of Bloemhof along the Harts River in November, 1869. To add to the complications caused by these claims and counter-claims the diggers at Klipdrift proclaimed a republic in June, 1870, under one Stafford Parker, ex-scaman of the Royal Navy.

Such in general terms were the various claims in the very involved dispute about the ownership of the diamond-bearing territory. Its settlement remains to be discussed. The representatives of the two republics met their coloured rivals at Nooitgedacht in August, 1870, but the conference failed to arrive at a settlement and Waterboer then asked to be made a British subject, while President Brand proclaimed Free State sovereignty over the whole of the Campbell Lands to the north of the Vetberg Line. A week or two later diamonds were discovered at Dutoitspan, to which there was a veritable stampede of diggers, and petitions urging the annexation of the whole area under dispute reached the Acting High Commissioner, General Hay, from all parts of the Cape Colony, as the Cape had considerable investments in the diggings and, moreover, was the strongest of the South African states. In November, 1870, the Bantu claimants and President Pretorius agreed to submit their claims to arbitration by the High Commissioner. The next month Sir Henry Barkly, the new Governor and High Commissioner, arrived at Cape Town and was met by President Brand with a proposal for the appointment of a foreign arbitrator; to which the High Commissioner could not agree, as the British Government, naturally enough, regarded itself as the paramount power in S. Africa. Barkly visited the disputed territory in February, 1871, and persuaded Pretorius and the Bantu claimants to accept Mr. R. W. Keate, Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, as arbitrator. In the meantime Sir Henry obtained permission from the Colonial Secretary to annex Waterboer's territory provided the Cape Colony would govern it and soon afterwards the Cape Parliament by a majority of one agreed to control all land that might be declared to belong to Waterboer. Later in 1871 Mr. Keate made his award fairly on the evidence placed before him. His line ran from the source of the Marico River down the Maquassi Spruit and along the Vaal to Platberg. From there he accepted a boundary corresponding to the Platberg-David's Graf-Ramah Line drafted by the Griqua chief in 1838, and the western limit of 1842, both as claimed by Arnot on Waterboer's behalf. Barkly promptly annexed Griqualand West as part of the Cape Colony and proclaimed the Keate Award. In 1873 Griqualand

West became a Crown Colony with Mr. Richard Southey as Administrator (later Lieutenant-Governor), an Executive Council of three and a small Legislative Council, partly official and partly elective. The Colonial Secretary, Lord Carnarvon, was convinced by the historian, J. A. Froude, that an injustice had been done to the O.F.S. and in March, 1876 Judge A. Stockenström in the Griqualand West Land Court was able to show that Waterboer had never exercised any real sovereignty outside Griquatown and Albania. Then President Brand went to London and saw the Colonial Secretary, saying in effect, "I am not a diplomatist struggling for an advantage. I am an honest man arguing for his rights." Brand abandoned the O.F.S. claim to the diamond fields in return for £90,000 and a promise of another £15,000 if within five years the O.F.S. began a railway to link its territory with that of the Cape or Natal. Four years later Griqualand West was incorporated in the Cape Colony.

The discovery of diamonds had far-reaching results, political, social and economic. On the political side it led to the Diamond Fields Dispute, the Keate Award and the annexation of Griqualand West, which opened up the road to the north for Great Britain, but also caused the two republics to draw together in opposition to the paramount power. In the Transvaal M. W. Pretorius was obliged to resign as President of the South African Republic in 1871, as the Volksraad held that he had mismanaged the presentation of their cause before the Arbitration Court. In the Cape Responsible Government was established, partly as a result of the enhanced prosperity of the Colony which followed the development of the diamond fields. Moreover, the establishment of yet another state in S. Africa—and that the unruly Griqualand West—led Lord Carnarvon, the Colonial Secretary, to press his proposals for the federation of all the European states in S. Africa. On the social and economic side the discovery of diamonds brought new people and fresh capital to the country, while the coming of Natives to work on the diamond mines of Griqualand West not only created an urban Native problem on a large scale for the first time, but also started competition between Black and White in the sphere of industry, while the whole process of the detribalization of the Bantu was accelerated. Farmers in the O.F.S. and to a less extent in the Transvaal, found in Kimberley a ready market for their produce, while the imports of the Cape and Natal steadily increased and the customs receipts provided the public money necessary for the building of railways. It was in 1885 that Kimberley was reached

by the line from the Cape, which at the time when diamonds were first discovered had hardly been taken beyond Wellington.

Thus, by the annexations of Basutoland and Griqualand West, Great Britain and the Cape Colony relieved the Orange Free State of the burden of its Native and industrial problems and for the last thirty years of its existence the Republic achieved the supposed happiness of having little History and quietly increased in prosperity. Sir John Brand, who had championed so consistently the rights of the Free State without becoming the enemy either of Great Britain or her colonies in S. Africa, died in July, 1888, and was followed as President by the Chief Justice, F. W. Reitz, who had been educated in Scotland and was the grandson of a Dutch naval officer who had settled at the Cape towards the end of the eighteenth century. He arranged a purely defensive alliance with the South African Republic in 1889, which his successor in the presidential office, Judge M. T. Steyn, made also into an offensive alliance in March, 1897, as a consequence of the Jameson Raid on the Transvaal. It was due to this alliance that the Free State was embroiled in the Boer War and consequently was annexed by Great Britain in 1900. Ten years later, in happier times, the Orange Free State was merged in the Union of South Africa.



[Reproduced by permission of the Johannesburg Art Gallery.]

PRESIDENT KRUGER.—A statuette by Anton van Wouw.



[Reproduced by permission of the African Museum, Johannesburg.]
CECIL JOHN RHODES.—This is said to be his favourite photograph of himself.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE STORY OF THE TRANSVAAL TO 1884

(A) *From the Great Trek to 1871*

After the defeat of Moselekatze and the Matabele by the Voortrekkers in 1837 and the withdrawal of the tribe beyond the Limpopo as described in Chapter Nine, the territory between the Vaal River and the Zoutpansberg was declared forfeit to the trekkers, though it was not until December, 1838, that Hendrik Potgieter founded the first permanent settlement north of the Vaal on the banks of the River Mooi. The population of the Transvaal was considerably augmented after the British annexation of the Republic of Natal in 1843, when many Natal Boers joined Potgieter at Potchefstroom, and also after the proclamation of the Orange River Sovereignty in 1848. Thus the Transvaal Boers may be regarded as the irreconcilables of the Trek. In 1844 a constitution known as the Thirty-three Articles was drawn up at Potchefstroom, but the next year Potgieter moved north to land given him by a Bapedi Chief and there he founded Andries-Ohrigstad, while Andries Pretorius assumed the leadership at Potchefstroom. However, the Potgieter party claimed to be the rulers of the whole Transvaal and also quarrelled with J. J. Burger and his supporters from Natal, who favoured government by an elected Volksraad. Pretorius took the lead in calling a meeting at Derde Poort in 1849, but the Potgieter faction was conspicuous by its absence. None the less, this meeting decided to summon a Volksraad representative of the whole Transvaal. This duly met and decided Andries-Ohrigstad was to be the capital, but soon afterwards, as this site proved to be fever-stricken, the capital was moved to Lydenburg. Somewhat later the Volksraad decided there should be four commandants-general in different parts of the country. The next year, in January, 1852, the two special commissioners appointed by the British Government, Major W. S. Hogge and Mr. C. M. Owen, arranged the Sand River Convention with Andries Pretorius and other Boer leaders, recognizing the independence of the emigrant farmers living beyond the Vaal and agreeing that the British authorities would not interfere in native affairs north of the river. The Boers for their part promised not to permit slavery in the territory under

of children, who were often passed from hand to hand for 'transfer fees' despite numerous prohibitions of the practice. There were formal prohibitions of slavery in 1845, 1852, 1857 and 1858 and the law against the traffic in indentures was repeated four times between 1851 and 1858—in the former year the Apprenticeship Law was passed ostensibly for the protection of Native orphan children, while in the latter year severe penalties were imposed for the transportation of Native children beyond the borders of the Republic and in the next year field cornets were instructed to prevent this traffic.

In discussing the results of the Great Trek in Chapter Nine, it was noticed that in the Trekker states inadequate reserve areas were set aside for the Native people, who were left to subsist as well as they might on state or privately-owned land. This *laissez-faire* policy was as evident in the Transvaal as it was in the Free State and has had serious consequences in the Union of South Africa. Our present policy of residential segregation in urban areas can be traced back to one of the Thirty-three Articles, which states that "no Natives shall be allowed to establish their residences near towns to the detriment of the inhabitants, except with the permission of the full Raad," while the existing pass system in the Transvaal has its origin in the Instructions to Field Cornets of the 17th September, 1859, although the first legislative enactment concerning passes was Law 9 of 1870, which stated that every adult male Native had to carry a pass issued by his master, a missionary, landdrost, field cornet or chief. There was as yet no penalty for failing to carry a pass—in fact, the field cornets were required to find employment for pass-less Natives—and the pass fee of 1s. was paid by the issuer of the pass. Two years later Law 3 of 1872 introduced regulations for the issue of passes to be in force for a year, which had to be carried by all adult male Natives except chiefs, and the holders of these passes were recognized as being entitled to the protection of the law. These passes were used primarily as identification certificates and the penalty of £1 or 10 days for not having a pass was not introduced until 1880, when the Transvaal was under British administration.

In the previous chapter the part played by the South African Republic in the Diamond Fields Dispute was discussed. The members of the Volksraad were so dissatisfied with the boundary line defined in the Keate Award that they obliged the President to resign in 1871, as he had conducted the case for the Transvaal before the Court of Arbitration without success. After the lapse of a few months the Rev. T. F. Burgers, a man of high academic

distinction, who it was thought would be more familiar than Pretorius with the ways of the world, was elected President of the Republic in July, 1872. During his term of office there occurred events, both internal and external, that led to the British Annexation of the Transvaal in 1877.

(B) From 1872 to the Convention of London, 1884

The internal state of the Republic during the five years' presidency of the Rev. T. F. Burgers had much to do with the annexation of the Transvaal by Great Britain. The President became increasingly unpopular, especially with the Doppe Church supporters of Paul Kruger, who were Calvinists of an unbending type. Thomas Burgers was brought up on a Graaff-Reinet farm and at the age of nineteen went to Holland, where he studied at the University of Utrecht. After an absence of five years he returned to S. Africa in 1858, accompanied by his Scottish wife, Mary Bryson. He was one of a trio of ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church accused by the Cape Synod of heterodoxy. After lengthy proceedings, which even reached the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London, they were acquitted. Their congregations supported them loyally and they continued to work among them during the prolonged legal investigations. However, in matters of theology, Burgers was too advanced for the people of the Transvaal and a large number of men in the W. Transvaal abandoned their farms and crossed the Kalahari Desert on the so-called Dorsland Trek in 1874. Finally they settled in Portuguese Angola, where many of their descendants remain to this day. Carl Jeppe in *The Kaleidoscopic Transvaal* says the President was a man of undoubted ability, great breadth of view and high aims, but on the other hand he was no administrator, extravagant in public matters and lacking in political tact. After his illness in 1874 he went to Europe and did not return till March, 1876, Piet Joubert acting as president during his absence. In Holland the President, who had no financial experience, succeeded in raising a loan of only £90,000 instead of the £300,000 that the Republic needed for the purchase of railway material. Nevertheless, on his visit to Portugal he made arrangements for the construction of a railway to the Transvaal border from Lourenço Marques in the Delagoa Bay area, which had been declared Portuguese by the MacMahon Award in July, 1875. Before leaving Europe he also saw the British Colonial Secretary, Lord Carnarvon, and assured him of his belief in a policy of ultimate confederation in South Africa.

When Burgers reached the Transvaal again, he found the Republic so beset with difficulties on all sides that he was soon convinced there was little hope of his re-election in the next year. The state was on the verge of bankruptcy the Transvaalers were as loth to pay taxes as their fathers and grandfathers had been in the Cape Colony, much of the railway material ordered by the President could not be paid for and lay rotting in customs sheds at Lourenço Marques, the public debt was over £200,000 and the Republic's £1 notes were worth about 1s. Besides these financial troubles, there were also difficulties with the Bantu. Secocoeni, the Chief of the Bapedi in the N.E. Transvaal, refused to pay taxes or allow prospectors into his reserve. The President accompanied a commando against him, but the campaign was indecisive, for the commandos having no confidence in their clerical President soon lost heart and went home, while Secocoeni remained in open rebellion against the authorities of the Republic for months to come. Thus the internal condition of the country was such that the Transvaalers themselves must bear a considerable share of the blame for the loss of their independence, for their experiments in self-government had been anything but a success, as the records of the Volksraad alone show.

On the other hand the policy of the pushful Colonial Secretary, Lord Carnarvon, also had much to do with the annexation. When he was in London in 1876, Theophilus Shepstone impressed on Carnarvon the danger that Secocoeni and Cetowayo, the Zulu Chief, might unite to attack European supremacy in both the Transvaal and Natal. The unfriendly relations existing between the Republic and the Chief of the Zulus over the Blood River Territory were in themselves a danger to neighbouring states. In the event of war a Transvaal victory would mean that many Zulus would be forced to seek refuge in the already over-crowded reserves of Natal, while a Zulu victory would have even wider repercussions as far afield as Basutoland and the Cape eastern frontier, not to mention the Swazi and Bapedi tribes nearer home. The Colonial Secretary decided to annex the Transvaal in the twofold belief that it would avoid the general Native war to which the anarchy in the Transvaal was leading and also further his policy of forming a permanent federation of the various states in South Africa. In September, 1876, he wrote to the Prime Minister, Lord Beaconsfield (Disraeli) "My hope is that, by acting at once, we may prevent war and acquire at a stroke the whole of the Transvaal Republic, after which the O.F.S. will follow, and the whole policy in South Africa, for which we have been labouring, be fully and completely justified" (15th Sep-

tember), and again, "It is on every ground of the highest importance not to lose this opportunity and I propose to send out by the mail on Friday Sir Theophilus Shepstone, the man who has the most intimate knowledge of South African affairs and the greatest influence alike on natives and Dutch, with a despatch empowering him to take over the Transvaal Government and to become the first English Governor, if circumstances on his arrival render this in any way possible. . . . There is every reason for it, both on the grounds of policy and in order to prevent a great South African War, which, if there is any want of decision at home or on the spot, will be the consequence" (20th September). Carnarvon's instructions and his subsequent letters taken together were tantamount to his telling Shepstone to annex the country with the consent of the population if possible, but in any case to annex the Transvaal. Meanwhile Sir Bartle Frere, whose career in the Indian Civil Service had been one of great distinction, was appointed as Cape Governor and High Commissioner to take the lead in renewing Carnarvon's confederation scheme.

So Shepstone returned to Natal and a fortnight before leaving Maritzburg for the Transvaal he informed President Burgers that he proposed to visit the Republic with an armed escort, which, however, he offered to leave behind; but as the President raised no objections he crossed the border at the head of a retinue of twenty-five policemen and eight civil servants, one of whom was the young Rider Haggard who was to become well known as a novelist. The party took eighteen days to cover the 170 miles from the border to Pretoria, which Shepstone entered in the President's State Coach accompanied by the State Secretary on the 22nd January, 1877. Sir Theophilus pitched his camp near the present Zoological Gardens and in the ensuing months he received thirty-one petitions in favour of annexation from the townfolk of the Transvaal, many of whom were British subjects from Natal or the Cape, but the majority of the Transvaalers were certainly opposed to it. He entertained the people of Pretoria lavishly at sherry and champagne parties, while he had several long talks with the President and members of the Volksraad, some of whom said things in private that were inconsistent with the public expression of their views. The success of Shepstone's mission was largely due to President Burgers, who to quote Dr. C. J. Uys in his interesting and entertaining volume, *In the Era of Shepstone*, blew hot and cold at the same time. At any rate Burgers and Shepstone both desired to circumvent the presidential election due in May, which would result in the return of the diehard Paul Kruger, the common factor

in the calculations of both of them. At the time Shepstone wrote to his son, "There is a strong party headed by Mr. Paul Kruger, which resents all interference that will in any way affect the technical independence of the State. . . . Mr. B., I believe, sees the difficulties of the case and appears willing to acquiesce in what he, I am persuaded, looks upon as inevitable. My trouble will therefore not be with him but with his rival." For his part Shepstone worked hard to induce the Boer leaders in the Executive Council, Volksraad and civil service alike to co-operate in the establishment of British rule by constantly reminding them of the essential unity of South African problems and of the very real dangers that were inherent in a policy of isolation and separatism for the Transvaal and South Africa as a whole.

Finding the majority of the Volksraad recalcitrant Shepstone at last issued a proclamation on the 12th April, 1877, annexing the Transvaal and promising the new colony its own legislature as soon as possible. At Pretoria the annexation was received quietly enough, for there was no active resistance or use of military force and despite the official protests of the Executive Council all but one member retained office under the British Crown and most of the civil servants also took the oath of allegiance to the Queen. In these circumstances it was natural that Lord Carnarvon in London should assume that public opinion had approved of the change, whereas in effect it would be more correct to say that the British regime had been accepted on trial. In any case, if Transvaal Native policy, or the lack of it, was a danger to other communities—and of that there is little doubt—it cannot be gainsaid that Great Britain as the paramount power in South Africa was entitled to intervene in one way or another in the affairs of the Transvaal in order to preserve peace. There is also much to be said for the view expressed by Sir. C. P. Lucas in his *Historical Geography of the British Colonies (Volume IV, Part I)* that the proclamation of British sovereignty over the Transvaal ought to be judged rather in the light of what had gone before than of what happened afterwards, for the war of 1880 was not provoked by the annexation of the Transvaal, but by the failure to fulfil the promise that the country should have a large measure of legislative autonomy.

In the meantime Sir Bartle Frere arrived in the country to find that the annexation of the Transvaal had ruined his hopes of effecting Carnarvon's proposed federation of the S. African states, for it had alarmed the Orange Free State and also the Cape Government, which refused to have anything to do with Carnarvon's Permissive Federation Act, which anticipated in

many of its features the South Africa Act of 1909. In the Transvaal the British Administration, first under Shepstone and then Sir Owen Lanyon, who became Administrator in 1879, compelled the farmers to pay their taxes, restored the credit of the country and at long last, in 1879, subdued Secocoeni. Despite the improved condition of the country, however, the relations between the Boers and their British rulers did not improve, for Shepstone, whose ways were autocratic, was not as successful in governing Boers and Britons as he had been as the ruler of native tribes. It was unfortunate for the British that the years of their administration of the Transvaal coincided with world-wide depression and with troubles elsewhere in South Africa, notably the Great Zulu War and the Ninth Kaffir War both in 1879; but as Professor de Kiewiet has pointed out the real quarrel between the Transvaal Boers and the British administration was one between a backward subsistence economy and a cash economy. Even when the Transvaal became independent again in the 'eighties this struggle continued between economic self-sufficiency on the one hand and the interdependence of modern industry and commerce on the other. On the annexation Kruger and Jorissen set out for London on a mission of protest, but Carnarvon insisted that the annexation must stand and they returned to the Transvaal almost reconciled to the situation, only to find that in their absence the anti-annexation party had become stronger and more vocal.

So Kruger, this time accompanied by Joubert, set out for London again in the next year on a second mission which also proved unsuccessful, while in March, 1879, Frere offered the Transvaal self-government as a member of a South African federation and later in the year Sir Garnet Wolseley as High Commissioner for S.E. Africa introduced a Crown Colony constitution with executive and legislative bodies; these met early in 1880, by which time Mr. W. E. Gladstone and the Liberal Party had come into power as a result of a general election in Great Britain. The Transvaalers were disappointed in the policy of the new government, which had this much in common with its Conservative predecessor, that it believed all would come right in South Africa, if self-government for the Transvaal and the federation of all the states were steadily pursued. However, the old Volksraad met once again and in December, 1880, announced the establishment of a republic and chose P. Kruger, Commandant-General P. J. Joubert and ex-President Pretorius to form a provisional government.

The rebellion known as the First Boer War began on December 16th, 1880, when the first shot was fired at Potchefstroom. At the time there were not 3,500 British troops in all South Africa and the small Transvaal garrisons at Pretoria, Potchefstroom and Lydenburg were simultaneously besieged, while another small force under Colonel Anstruther was ambushed at Bronkhorst Spruit, where the dead and wounded numbered 121 and included every officer in the contingent. The impulsive Sir G. P. Colley, Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, hastened to relieve the British garrisons, but was repulsed by Joubert at Laing's Nek, then obliged to retire after a sharp engagement at Ingogo Heights and finally defeated on the 17th February, 1881, at Majuba, where the General and 91 others were killed and the Boers took 52 prisoners. The British Government had begun negotiations for a settlement almost as soon as the fighting began and the disaster at Majuba did not interrupt them, for the Gladstone Ministry had come round to the view that federation must wait until the South African states themselves were prepared to take the lead in effecting it. Almost immediately an armistice was arranged, which resulted in the Triumvirate arranging the Convention of Pretoria in August, 1881, with Sir Hercules Robinson, the new High Commissioner; Colonel Evelyn Wood, V.C., Colley's successor in the field; and J. H. de Villiers, Chief Justice of the Cape Colony. The Convention, which was ratified in October by a specially elected Volksraad, in recognizing the independence of the Transvaal State defined its boundaries for the first time on all sides and declared Swaziland to be an independent native state. Equal civil rights were promised to all Europeans in the State, though no special mention was made of the franchise. The Transvaal was guaranteed complete self-government, subject to the suzerainty of Her Majesty, which meant in effect that the Transvaal could not make treaties with foreign powers without the consent of the British Government and that the British Resident at Pretoria had the power to veto laws of the Transvaal Volksraad which affected the native population.

Britain's humiliating withdrawal from the war had a damaging effect on British prestige in South Africa in the eyes of both Boer and Bantu, attracted the attention of foreign powers, notably Germany, to the country, and killed all attempts at federation for many years to come, for instead of being an inducement to co-operation, as the Gladstone Ministry intended, it fanned the spirit of Boer nationalism throughout S. Africa. In the Transvaal Paul Kruger was elected President in 1883 and

who had founded the anti-British Afrikander Bond in 1879, left almost immediately for London, where with the Colonial Secretary, the Earl of Derby, he arranged the Convention of London in February, 1884, which modified the previous convention in several important respects. The British Government gave up its right to veto Transvaal legislation and so the British Resident became a mere consul. The Republic was also allowed to make treaties with the O.F.S. and native tribes adjacent to the northern borders of the Republic, but not those on the east and west, without first gaining the consent of the British Government. All Europeans were to have full civil rights and there were to be no trade restrictions imposed on the importation of British goods. All Natives were guaranteed freedom of movement under a pass system. The western border of the Transvaal, which at this time resumed its former title of the South African Republic, was extended to take in portions of the Republics of Stellaland (Vryburg) and Goshen (Mafeking), which had been founded in 1882 within a few months of each other by two Transvaalers, J. G. van Niekerk and Gey van Pittius, and straddled the route by which Cape trade went to the interior, but the Transvaal was not allowed to absorb the Missionaries' Road, which Rhodes called "the Suez Canal to the interior." The next year the Road was absorbed in the Crown Colony of Bechuanaland and the Bechuanaland Protectorate farther north some months after Germany had established a protectorate over the adjacent Namaqua-Damaraland, as a result of the activities of the merchant Luderitz at Angra Pequena.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE TRANSVAAL FROM THE DISCOVERY OF GOLD TO THE ANGLO-BOER WAR (1885-1902)

(A) *The Discovery of Gold*

In his book *The Road to the North* Agar-Hamilton quotes from a letter the High Commissioner, Sir Hercules Robinson, wrote to Sir Robert Herbert at the Colonial Office on the 6th January, 1886, in which he says, "Things all round are more peaceful and pleasant here this New Year than they have been for the last five years. I hope the present calm will continue, but one never knows in S. Africa what the day may bring forth." His Excellency's hope that the South African sky would remain clear and cloudless was doomed to disappointment, for at Langlaagte in the next month the discovery was made of the wonderful *Main Reef Series*, on which the World's greatest gold mining industry has been built up, and in September portions of the Witwatersrand were declared a mining area and the foundations of Johannesburg were laid. Within a few years it was clear that the gold deposits unlike earlier finds were rich and extensive and that the course of history not only in the Transvaal but in all South Africa would be changed. Year by year more and more people came to Johannesburg and the smaller towns that grew up on the Witwatersrand. Many came from Natal and the Cape Colony, where some had already made and others failed to make fortunes on the Kimberley diamond diggings. Still more came from overseas—from Great Britain, the European mainland, the U.S.A. and Australia. Though all nationalities were represented, most of the new-comers were British subjects and many of them skilled artisans and trained workers in one trade or another.

By 1895, when it was fairly certain that Johannesburg and its gold mines had come to stay, there were seven Uitlanders, as the newcomers were called, to every three burghers in the Transvaal. President Kruger refused to grant the franchise to the people of the Rand, as he feared they would gain political control of the Republic. In any case, if the franchise had been more liberal, it is certain that many of the newcomers from other parts of South Africa as well as from overseas would have obtained the vote and then supported the more liberal Genera.

Joubert, who was Kruger's only serious political rival. Consequently the franchise qualifications for electing the President and First Volksraad were raised from five to ten years' residence in 1890 and to fourteen years in 1894, although in the former year Kruger also created a Second Volksraad elected on a two year franchise to deal with the mining areas, but it had no taxing powers and its actions were subject to the review of the First Volksraad. The Uitlanders desired the right to vote, as they provided most of the revenue of the Republic and had no control over government policy and questions of revenue and expenditure, both of which had increased by leaps and bounds. (For every £1 the Government had in 1883 it had £25 to spend in 1895). Moreover, the Uitlander population had other legitimate grievances for the Kruger Administration, especially in applying its monopoly policy, was undoubtedly corrupt. For example by the dynamite concession the control of one of the most vital needs of the mining industry had been given to a group of German financiers; the unduly heavy railway charges raised the cost of mining material, and the customs duties imposed at the Transvaal border, coming on top of the coastal tariffs, raised the cost of living and thus caused high wages. Also the use of English in the law-courts and schools was not allowed and the right of public meeting was refused. Above all, although nearly all of the taxes came from the gold industry and those people who owned and worked it, they were denied a voice in directing government policy. It is true some of the Johannesburgers were men of the get-rich-quick type, who desired to make their pile in the Transvaal and spend it overseas, while others tried to believe they could become Transvaal burghers and still remain British subjects; but there were many men, including not a few Afrikaners from the other South African states, who genuinely desired to be Transvaal burghers and yet could only become voters by the special grace of the administration.

Another major cause of friction between the mining companies and the Kruger Government was the latter's railway policy. By 1895 the Rand was connected with all the South African ports, but the Netherlands Railway Company, which had obtained a concession to build railways in the South African Republic in 1884, owned the Transvaal end of each of the lines from the coast. To force the Rand importers to use the Netherlands Company line to Lourenço Marques (completed in 1894) the Transvaal Government tripled the rates on the forty miles of railway from Johannesburg to the Orange Free State border at Viljoen's Drift. The President wished the Rand to do all

ts trading by means of the railway to Delagoa Bay, as nearly all of this line was in the Transvaal and none of it in the British colonies. The railway disputes came to a head in 1895, for in order to retain control of the Rand trade the Cape Railway Administration organized a transport service by road between Johannesburg and the Free State railway terminus on the O.F.S. side of the Vaal River. In August, 1895, the Transvaal Government temporarily put an end to this traffic by closing the fords across the Vaal, but the British Government asserted this action was a breach of the London Convention, as it discriminated against overseas goods. The drifts were soon reopened and thus matters stood until the time of the Boer War.

Kruger's railway policy was one aspect of his policy of isolation. Another was his attempt to secure a port independent of British territory. In Chapter Eleven we noted that Britain annexed St. Lucia Bay (1884), Zululand (1887) and Tongaland (1895), while the Transvaal absorbed the short-lived New Republic in 1888. As a means of reaching the sea the Kruger Government was interested also in Swaziland, where Transvaal concessionaires had gained a considerable footing. At one stage the British Government, whose consent was necessary in terms of the London Convention, was willing to allow the Transvaal a railway corridor and Kosi Bay as a port, provided the Republic would enter a Customs Union with the Cape or Natal and link its railways with their systems, but at the time Kruger refused to do either. In December, 1894, however, at the Volksrust-Charleston Conference between Kruger and Sir Henry Loch, then High Commissioner, it was agreed that Swaziland should be a protectorate of the Transvaal and the republican authorities took over the country in the following February; but in May, anticipating German intervention in those areas, Britain annexed Tongaland and Kosi Bay and so cut off the Transvaal's prospects of reaching the sea. The President in making a speech in January on the occasion of the German Emperor's birthday had hinted strongly that Germany should act as a counterpoise to Great Britain in South Africa. Moreover, there were German officers in the Transvaal and later in 1895 a German squadron put in to Delagoa Bay, where a stronger British fleet anchored alongside to show that Britain stood for the *status quo* in that region and her Majesty's Government was obliged to declare that all South Africa was regarded as a British sphere of influence.

(B) *The Jameson Raid*

On the Rand the middle-class National Union had been formed in 1892 to agitate for equal civil rights and the abolition

of monopolies, but the mining magnates themselves, as the trustees of innumerable shareholders in Europe and the U.S.A., were naturally more interested in securing an honest administration than in the question of the franchise as such. However, the demand for political reform was becoming more and more insistent—mass meetings were held, secret societies started and rifle clubs formed. Cecil Rhodes, the Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, who at this time had the controlling interest in the British South Africa Company which managed Rhodesia, the de Beers Consolidated Mines of Kimberley and the Goldfields of South Africa, one of the largest Rand companies, resolved with some reluctance that he ought to guide any rising in Johannesburg in order to further his plans for forming a South African federation. He promised some of the leading agitators financial aid for the projected rising and the support of the B.S.A. Company Police, but he did not tell either the Colonial Secretary or the Board of the Chartered Company of these plans; for though his ultimate aim was a high one it has been said with truth that he had recourse to short cut methods, that were more in keeping with business amalgamations than with the process of uniting states. Some of the leading Reformers with the connivance of Rhodes secretly arranged that Dr. Starr Jameson, who administered S. Rhodesia for the Chartered Company, should lead the Company's police into the Transvaal to help the people of Johannesburg seize the town and then march on Pretoria to force the old President to give them the vote. As the intended rising in Johannesburg appeared to be petering out through the sheer bungling of its organizers, Jameson, who had five hundred of his police at Pitsani on the Transvaal-Bechuanaland border ostensibly to protect the railway to Rhodesia, determined to precipitate both the rising and official British intervention. On 29th December, 1895, Jameson and party broke camp and rode into the Transvaal, to the horror of the Johannesburg conspirators, who hastily ran up "the Vierkleur upside-down as the flag of the republic-about-to-be-reformed !" When Rhodes learnt of Jameson's plans, he wired to him not to move, but the telegraph lines south of Mafeking had been cut by one of Jameson's troopers in mistake for the lines to Pretoria and Rhodes' telegram did not reach Jameson. The High Commissioner ordered the raiders back, but they were rounded up by General Cronje near Krugersdorp on the 2nd January, 1896. On the same day Sir Hercules Robinson arrived in Pretoria at the request of the President, who had ordered the arrest of the chief Reformers. Dr. Jameson and his officers and men were

anded over to the British Government for trial, for they were British subjects attacking the South African Republic with which Great Britain was in a state of peace—in the sight of International Law their case was similar to that of Garibaldi and his thousand Italian followers who attacked the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies in 1860. The Reformers of Johannesburg were rebels against the government of the Republic and, of course, were tried by a Transvaal court. Four of the leaders—George Farrar, Lionel Phillips, Colonel Frank Rhodes, brother of the Cape Premier; and Hays Hammond, the American engineer—were sentenced to death, but the sentences were not carried out and they were subsequently released on the payment of heavy fines. The others were all sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment, though all but two, Karri Davies and Woolls Sampson, who were referred to remain in prison, were set free on the payment of fines for which Cecil Rhodes and his partner, Alfred Beit, made themselves responsible. In England Jameson was sentenced to imprisonment for fifteen months, but on account of ill-health he was released after a year, while his officers lost their commissions, as most of them had been seconded from the Imperial Army to organize the Rhodesian Police.

The Jameson Raid had portentous results. In the first place it roused great ill-feeling throughout S. Africa and strained the relations between Great Britain and the S.A. Republic to the uttermost limits. As a Minister of the Crown Rhodes should never have allowed himself to be implicated in the affair and so he resigned immediately as Prime Minister of the Cape Colony and all plans for federation were ruined for years to come. In the Transvaal the liberal-minded Boers were thrown into the arms of Kruger, who was able to say "I told you so" and consequently was re-elected as President in 1898 with a considerably enhanced majority, while on the resignation of Reitz for reasons of health the O.F.S. elected M. T. Steyn as President and formed a close military alliance with the threatened republic on its northern borders. In Rhodesia in the absence of the police the Matabele rose in revolt murdering three hundred Europeans, and the Second Matabele War followed.

The Raid even had repercussions in Europe, where the German Government, fishing in troubled waters, promptly sent a semi-ultimatum to Great Britain, which they recovered, fortunately still unread, on learning that the British Government disowned Jameson and the raiders. In its place the German Emperor sent a personal telegram of congratulation to President Kruger on the 3rd January, 1896: "I express my sincere con-

gratulations that, supported by your people, without appealing for the help of friendly Powers, you have succeeded by your own energetic action against armed bands which invaded your country as disturbers of the peace, and have thus been enabled to restore peace and safeguard the independence of the country against attacks from the outside." To which the President properly replied as follows, "I express to Your Majesty my deepest gratitude for Your Majesty's congratulations. With God's help we hope to continue to do everything possible for the existence of the Republic."

At the same time the Emperor William II wrote privately to Nicholas II, the Czar of Russia, in the following terms, "Now suddenly the Transvaal Republic has been attacked in a most foul way and it seems not without England's knowledge. I have used very severe language in London and have opened communications with Paris for common defence of our endangered interests, as French and German colonists have immediately joined hands of their own accord to help the outraged Boers. . . I hope all will come right, but come what may I never shall allow the British to stamp out the Transvaal." (*The Willy-Nicky Letters*).

The Kruger Telegram incident was the first of several disagreements between the British and German Governments, which were to become more frequent and more acute with the passing of the years. On this occasion Queen Victoria with the consent of the Prime Minister, wrote a letter of reprimand to her grandson, which has been described as kind, wise and withering! It certainly deflated the imperious William, whose apologetic letter of explanation to the Queen brought this Anglo-German crisis to an end.

My dear William,

As your Grandmother to whom you have always shown so much affection and of whose example you have always spoken with so much respect I feel I cannot refrain from expressing my regret at the telegram you sent President Kruger.

It is considered very unfriendly towards this country, which I am sure it is not intended to be, and has, I grieve to say, made a very painful impression here. The action of Dr. Jameson was of course very wrong and totally unwarranted; but considering the very peculiar position in which the Transvaal stands to Great Britain, I think it would have been far better to have said nothing. Our great wish has

always been to keep on the best of terms with Germany, but I fear your agents in the colonies do the very reverse, which deeply grieves us. Let us hope that you will try and check this. . . . I hope you will take my remarks in good part, as they are entirely dictated by my desire for your good.

Victoria R.I.

The following is the relevant portion of the German Emperor's reply, "Now to me Rebels against the will of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen are most execrable beings in the world, and I was so incensed at the idea of your orders being disobeyed, and thereby peace and the security of my subjects being endangered, that I thought it necessary to show that publicly. It has I am sorry to say been totally misunderstood by the British press. I was standing up for law, order and obedience to a Sovereign whom I revere and adore and whom to obey I thought paramount for her subjects. Those were my motives and I challenge anybody who is a Gentleman to point out where there is anything hostile to England in this."

The results of the discovery of gold, which may be shortly noted, were manifold. Politically, it led to the franchise, railway and customs disputes between the Transvaal Government and the Uitlander population, to the Jameson Raid and the Second Boer War, and, in the long run, to the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910. The social and economic consequences were hardly less important—the coming of new people to the Transvaal, the growth of new towns, the building of main railway lines from the ports to Johannesburg, the increase in external and internal trade, the development of subsidiary industries and farming, and the coming of Bantu labourers from every part of South Africa to work in the gold mines, to learn there many things that were new to them and were in time to change their whole mode of life.

(C) The Second Boer War

We must return to outline the course of events that followed the Jameson Raid. In 1897 Sir Alfred Milner, a non-party official of exceptional ability, who had made a great name as an administrator in Egypt, became High Commissioner and Governor of the Cape Colony. He came to South Africa resolved to establish better relations with the prickly Transvaal in order to induce its government to effect political and administrative reforms and also to restore British paramountcy in South Africa, which had been badly shaken as a result of the Raid. Once the scare of war roused by the Raid and the Kaiser's telegram to

President Kruger had subsided overseas, Milner determined to apply pressure to the Transvaal Government, if his earlier policy of patience proved unfruitful. In August, 1898, Germany and Britain came to an agreement about the division of the Portuguese colonies in Africa should Portugal wish to dispose of them at any time—Delagoa Bay was to go to Great Britain, but the major portion of Portuguese Africa was to become German. A little later the Fashoda incident in the Sudan was also settled amicably by the French and British Governments. This improvement on the diplomatic horizon left Milner free to pursue matters with the Kruger Government. In June, 1899, he met President Kruger at Bloemfontein to discuss the franchise problem. Milner demanded that the franchise in the Transvaal be granted after five years' residence, that the grant of the vote be retrospective and that adequate representation be accorded to the mining areas; Kruger was willing to concede an elaborately guarded franchise after seven years' residence contingent upon the British Government's agreeing to submit future disputes to arbitration and to allow the Transvaal to annex Swaziland. As neither Milner nor Kruger trusted each other, the conference ended in a deadlock, but in the following month the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, accepted the principle of non-foreign arbitration on disputed points in the Pretoria and London Conventions and suggested a joint enquiry into the franchise question. Consequently J. C. Smuts, State-Attorney of the Republic, and Sir W. Conyngham-Greene, the British diplomatic representative in Pretoria, met in August and agreed that five years' residence should be the qualification for the franchise and that the mining areas should have not less than a quarter of the seats in the Volksraad. Chamberlain's qualified acceptance of these proposals was taken as a refusal in the tense atmosphere existing in government circles in Pretoria and the Transvaal Government fell back on its original seven year proposals. The British Government then reserved to itself the right "to consider the situation *de novo*," for by this time the franchise question had been swallowed up in that of paramountcy.

The Transvaal felt that it was being ordered to reform itself at the bidding of the British Government, especially as ten thousand troops from India and the Mediterranean were on their way to South Africa. The British Government was in a very difficult position, for if troops were sent it might aggravate the crisis and if they were not sent it might be fatal, since at the time the Transvaal and O.F.S. burghers outnumbered the British troops,

matum, which had been drafted a fortnight before, was presented to the British Government, demanding that all British forces on the Transvaal borders be withdrawn, that all troops which had arrived in South Africa since June 1st be sent out of the country and that reinforcements then on the high seas should not be landed at any South African port. Obviously Great Britain could not conform to these demands and at the end of 48 hours it was announced that a state of war existed between the South African Republic and Great Britain, while the Orange Free State in terms of its alliance with the Transvaal was also involved in the conflict. There is support for the view that the effect of the droughty heat of Pretoria on men's tempers precipitated the sending of the ultimatum, for in South Africa "the heat of drought easily becomes the fever of war." Colonel Deneys Reitz in his book *Commando* writes, "Looking back, I think that war was inevitable. I have no doubt the British Government had made up its mind to force the issue, and was the chief culprit, but the Transvaalers were also spoiling for a fight, and from what I saw in Pretoria during the few weeks that preceded the ultimatum, I feel sure that the Boers would in any case have insisted on a rupture." It may be said that two broad sets of circumstance caused the war—firstly, the existence of the gold mining industry and the powerful interests involved in it and secondly, the British Government's realization that in the complex situation which had developed in South Africa since the discovery of gold there could be no prosperity without unity and their desire for a united South Africa in which British paramountcy might prevail.

Hostilities actually began on the 12th October, 1899, at Kraaipan on the Western border of the Transvaal. In the opening months of the war the two small republics had the advantage, as in the whole of South Africa there were only 25,000 British troops of whom a third were colonial volunteers, while the Boers were fighting in their own way in country that they knew. However, the potential strength of Great Britain and her Empire was tremendous and altogether against 87,000 Boers, including Cape rebels, Britain put into the field nearly 450,000 men, large numbers of whom had to be employed in the protection of the army's vast lines of communication. The war began disastrously for the British forces, as first Kimberley, then Mafeking and, a little later, Ladysmith were all besieged by the Boer forces. In the second week of December—the Black Week—Lord Methuen in attempting to relieve Kimberley met with a serious reverse at Magersfontein while Sir Buller

marching to the relief of Ladysmith was defeated at Coleuso. British reinforcements arrived in January, 1900, and the famous Lord Roberts was appointed Commander-in-Chief with Lord Kitchener as his Chief of Staff. Buller was again defeated at Spion Kop, but Kimberley was relieved and on the 27th February General Cronje surrendered to Lord Roberts at Paardeberg with four thousand men. Relief came to hard-pressed Ladysmith soon afterwards and in March Roberts entered Bloemfontein. The death of General Joubert at this stage resulted in the young and able Louis Botha assuming command of the Boer forces, but in May the O.F.S. was annexed as the Orange River Colony, Colonel Baden Powell was at last relieved at Mafeking and Johannesburg was occupied. In June Pretoria fell, in August President Kruger sailed from Lourenço Marques on a Dutch warship for Europe in a vain attempt to get aid for the Republics; in September the Transvaal was annexed, while Roberts handed over his command to Kitchener and the Colonial Secretary appointed Sir Alfred Milner to govern the Transvaal and Orange River Colony as High Commissioner, relieving him of the Cape Governorship.

The first stage of regular warfare was over, but to the surprise of the British Government and the High Command in South Africa, as well as of supporters of the Boer cause everywhere, a prolonged period of guerilla warfare followed and did not end until May, 1902. There were many factors that led to the prolongation of the war not the least being the facts that European Powers sympathized with the Boer cause and that in the Cape Colony and in Britain itself there were many, including men in prominent positions, who were opposed to the prosecution of the war. In this long period of skirmishing the Boer commandos directed by such gifted leaders as C. de Wet, J. H. de la Rey, Botha, J. C. Smuts and J. B. M. Hertzog showed great daring and dexterity, and to meet their unexpected resistance Lord Kitchener erected blockhouses and barbed wire for the protection of railway lines and bridges. He sent Boer prisoners to Ceylon and St. Helena, as there was always the possibility of their being released from prisoner-of-war camps in the Cape and Natal and as Boer commandants often induced men released on parole to go on active service again. Then, against the wishes of both Milner and the Colonial Secretary, the troops were ordered to burn farmhouses more systematically. This was made necessary by the fact that they were sources of supply and information and centres of resistance from which men in mufti went out to blow

hardened the character of the struggle and in all probability lengthened the war, though it is difficult to see what other course the military authorities could have adopted in the circumstances. This policy also entailed the establishment of concentration camps for the reception of homeless old men, women and children. The first was opened at Krugersdorp in August, 1900, and within a year there were forty such camps sheltering 85,000 people. Their initial breakdown was due in part to faulty organization and in part to the fact that the inmates were often folk in poor physical condition with rudimentary ideas on sanitation and less immune to disease than townsmen. The first camps were overcrowded, and pneumonia and measles especially took a heavy toll of life, but with a blank cheque from the British Treasury and with the aid of British officials from India trained to deal with famine refugees Milner worked hard to put matters right. At the end of the war there were 200,000 people in these camps, including 80,000 natives in separate areas, and at the peace conference General Botha was able to thank the British authorities for all they had done in this connection and also to express his thankfulness that while the men fought their women and children were safe in British hands. Inevitably the deaths of 4,000 women and 16,000 children in the camps is a sad memory, but these camps were entirely different in conception, spirit and conduct from those of the same name associated with the Nazi regime in Germany in later times.

In the midst of this second stage of the war Kitchener and Milner met General Botha at Middelburg in March, 1901, and offered generous peace terms, but the conference failed, as Botha knew his people would not accept the loss of independence and as Milner rejected the request of Botha, who was supported by Kitchener, for an amnesty for the Cape rebels; many of whom were of the ignorant bywoner type. The war dragged on for another twelve months and then peace negotiations were resumed. British public opinion was strongly in favour of it and Kitchener, having sounded Schalk Burger, the acting-President of the Transvaal, allowed the leaders of the two republics to meet at Klerksdorp in April. Milner and Kitchener renewed the offer of the Middelburg terms and after much discussion thirty representatives from each republic met at Vereeniging, where the terms were accepted by 54 votes to 6, and on the night of May 31st, 1902, the Treaty of Vereeniging was signed at Pretoria. The Republics surrendered their independence; civil government was to take the place of military government as soon as possible; full responsible government was to be granted before the question

of the franchise for the natives was settled; the British Government was to provide £3,000,000 to repair the ravages of war and to grant a loan to the Transvaal and Orange River Colony free of interest for the first two years.

These generous terms were accepted with dignity. It was a good augury for the future, for nothing in the war, which has been called the Last Gentleman's War, "so much became both parties to it as the manner of its ending". Inevitably, the British Empire with its superior man-power and resources won the war but the ultimate defeat of the two small republics after a magnificent resistance of almost three years won for their peoples not only the respect and admiration of their opponents, but also what is equally important, the peace. A war must be judged by its peace and its consequences, as well as by its causes, and paradoxically Great Britain had fought the war not to retain South Africa but to relinquish it, for her very victory removed the greatest obstacle to the uniting of the various South African states by placing Britons and Afrikaners alike under the same sovereign, thereby evoking the growth of a true South Africanism which owed not a little to the sense of mutual respect which developed between the contending forces during the course of the war. "History", John Buchan has written, "has seen many fine stocks brought within the pale of our empire, but none stronger and finer than this one which turned defeat into victory and led captivity captive." Looked at in the light of the events that followed the Treaty of Vereeniging the Boer War may be truly regarded as one of those events in history unfortunate in themselves out of which much good has come.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

RHODES, KRUGER AND RHODESIA

The two outstanding figures on the South African stage in the last quarter of the nineteenth century were Paul Kruger, President of the Transvaal for twenty years, and Cecil Rhodes, founder of Rhodesia, the clash of whose personalities and policies dominated the South African scene in their day.

(A) *Cecil John Rhodes*

Cecil Rhodes, the fifth son of an Anglican clergyman, was born in a Hertfordshire village in 1853 and, as his health broke down, he came to Natal at the age of seventeen to join his eldest brother who was farming there. Together they went to the diamond diggings at Kimberley and before he was nineteen Rhodes was restored in health and financially independent. He spent several terms at Oxford and, though never a scholar in a university sense, he was a keen devourer of books and finally took a degree, but despite his frequent visits to England his Kimberley interests claimed more and more of his time and attention. In 1881 he entered the Cape Parliament as member for Barkly West, a seat he retained for life, and in July, 1890, he became Prime Minister at the head of an able Cabinet consisting of J. W. Sauer, J. X. Merriman, J. Rose-Innes, J. Sivewright and P. H. Fauré, the last two being members of the Afrikaner Bond, then directed by the liberal-minded Jan Hofmeyr. When he became Premier Rhodes controlled three great commercial and industrial enterprises—the British South Africa Company, usually known as the Chartered Company, founded in 1889, which had begun to open up and develop Matabele-Mashonaland; the de Beers Consolidated Mines, that great amalgamation of the Kimberley diamond interests also formed in 1889, which acquired the Premier Mine near Pretoria the next year and controlled nine-tenths of the South African diamond mining industry; and lastly, the Goldfields of South Africa floated in 1887, which had vast interests on the Witwatersrand. In the Cape Rhodes was regarded almost as a benevolent despot, but the possession of great power had a detrimental effect on his character, for as time went on he became intolerant of any kind of control or

opposition. Nevertheless, he spared no pains to conciliate his Afrikaner fellow-citizens in the Colony, and the conflict between his ideals and those of President Kruger was fundamentally one of co-operation and unity versus exclusiveness and separatism.

The policy of Rhodes the statesman may be considered from three aspects. Firstly, in regard to the African continent as a whole his ideal was "Africa British from Cape to Cairo". Fear of Portuguese, German and Transvaal expansion led him to secure British control of Bechuanaland, partly as a crown colony and partly as a protectorate, in 1885. For a time in the previous year Rhodes had been the British commissioner there to negotiate with the representatives of the Transvaal Republic. Then in 1889 his Chartered Company gained control of that vast territory between the Limpopo and Zambesi Rivers now called Southern Rhodesia; and this led to Northern Rhodesia (1890) and Nyasaland (1891) also coming under British control. During Rhodes' premiership the Cape Colony assumed control of Pondoland and British Bechuanaland south of the Molopo River, while Britain annexed Tongaland, which with Zululand was soon transferred to Natal. He was interested too in the possibility of constructing railway and telegraph lines from Cape Town to Cairo in British territory throughout their length. In South Africa Rhodes strove consistently for the uniting of all the states in a federation, which was to be within the British Empire but to have complete control of its own internal affairs, for he was both a believer in Imperial unity and a defender of local rights against what he often called the Imperial factor. As a step towards federation he supported the formation of a Customs Union in 1889 by the Cape and the O.F.S., which was subsequently joined by all the states except the Transvaal, but Rhodes' connection with the Jameson Raid finally destroyed all hope of federation in his lifetime. Thirdly, in regard to the native and coloured races his policy was one of "equal rights for all civilized men south of the Zambesi." By a civilized man Rhodes said he meant "one who has sufficient education to write his name, has some property and is not a loafer," a definition he put into effect in his revision of the Cape franchise qualifications. In 1894 his Government sponsored the Glen Grey Act, which established local native councils and individual small holdings for native tenants in place of communal ownership in the Glen Grey District west of the Kei. The system introduced by this Act has since been applied to the whole of the large Transkei Reserve and has resulted in the establishment of the Transkeian

General Council or Bunga, which now controls revenue amounting to over £150,000 annually.

As recorded in the previous Chapter, Rhodes took full responsibility for the conduct of his subordinates who were involved in the Raid and resigned as Prime Minister of the Cape Colony in January, 1896. He devoted his remaining years to the affairs of Rhodesia, although he had also resigned the chairmanship of the Chartered Company. He was in Kimberley during the siege and died at his Muizenberg cottage in March, 1902, just before the close of the Boer War. He was buried in the heart of the Matoppo Hills in the great country to which his name had been given. His last will and testament showed that despite the war his faith in a South African federation and in the British Empire was undiminished, for he left his beautiful home, Groote Schuur, to be the official residence of the Prime Minister of a United South Africa and a vast sum of money for the establishment of the Rhodes Scholarships to enable young men from all parts of the Empire and the United States of America to study at Oxford in the company of their fellows from the British Isles, for Rhodes was convinced that in the close relationship of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the U.S.A. lay the greatest force for good in the conduct of world affairs and the best security for the maintenance of world peace.

(B) *Paul Kruger*

(Paul Kruger, whose ancestors had come to the Cape from Germany early in the eighteenth century, was born in the Colesberg District of the Cape Colony in 1825. At the age of ten he accompanied his parents on the Great Trek and so had little scholastic education. His family settled north of the Vaal and at an early age he became a field-cornet, serving with distinction in many minor Native wars. After the independence of the Transvaal was recognized in 1852, he became an adherent of M. W. Pretorius and assisted him in framing the first constitution of the South African Republic. When Pretorius became President for the second time in 1864, Kruger became Commandant-General. He openly opposed the policy of President Burgers and after the annexation of 1877 was the leader of the two deputations that went to England to have it rescinded. As one of the Triumvirate he took part in the First Boer War and was one of the signatories to the Convention of Pretoria. In 1883 he was elected President with 3,400 votes, against 1,100 cast for General Joubert and he then went to England, where the London Convention was arranged with the British authorities.

He was re-elected in 1888 and again in 1893, but with a majority of only 700 and then Joubert accused the government of tampering with the election results.

(The main principles of President Kruger's policy may be stated as follows. In the first place he wished to maintain the political independence of the Transvaal, as evidenced in the terms he secured by the Convention of London and his consistent opposition to all proposals for federating the Transvaal with the other South African states. He desired as well to maintain the supremacy of the old populations in the Transvaal as indicated in his franchise policy. This belief in a purely Afrikaner or Boer South Africa led him to make the great mistake of rejecting the advice of President Brand to make friends of the new population in the Transvaal. Lastly, he wished to maintain the economic isolation of the Transvaal, as shown in his railway policy, opposition to the Customs Union and efforts to expand his state, especially with a view to securing an outlet to the sea.

All these aspects of the President's policy have been reviewed in the previous chapter, but no mention has yet been made of the judicial crisis in the South African Republic. In January, 1897, Chief Justice John Kotze, jealous of the independence of the Bench, came into conflict with both the Executive and Legislature, for he denied the power of the Volksraad to alter the existing law by mere resolution or *besluit* and claimed the right of the courts to test all laws by the touchstone of the Constitution or *Grondwet* as in the U.S.A. The Volksraad countered this by passing by means of a resolution Law I of 1897 denying this testing right and authorizing the President to dismiss any judges who should subsequently claim it. The judges protested in a body, but the Chief Justice of the Cape Colony, J. H. de Villiers, persuaded them to agree not to exercise the disputed right and the President undertook to suspend Law No. I and so the immediate crisis passed. However, as the constitution was still unreformed, early in the next year the Chief Judge claimed the test right and was promptly dismissed in terms of Act I, while, to the intense resentment of the Rand, Gregorowski, the judge who had sentenced the Reformers in 1896, was appointed to succeed him. At the same time there was a press crisis, for the Johannesburg newspapers had naturally supported the judges and in March, 1897, Kruger suppressed the *Critic* and the *Star*, but the papers reappeared as the *Transvaal Critic* and the *Comet*, while the outcry against Krugerism and all its works grew in volume and the courts scored a point off the President by declaring the suspension *ultra vires*.

However, in February, 1898, Kruger was again returned as President with a large majority, for the Jameson Raid had strengthened his position and the opposition vote had been split between Joubert and Schalk Burger. After the failure of the Bloemfontein Conference, the Second Boer War began and in 1900 the President left for Europe, where he visited Berlin in a vain endeavour to secure German assistance for the Republic. For a time he lived in Holland and then moved to Switzerland, where he died at Villa Dubochet 17 at Clarens on the shores of Lake Geneva. At the entrance to this house there is a tablet with the following inscription in English and Latin, "In this house Paul Kruger, the last President of the Transvaal, died in exile on the 14th day of July, 1904." His body was brought to Pretoria and there he was accorded a State Funeral on Dingaan's Day. Paul Kruger, brave, exasperating, obstinate, out of touch as he undoubtedly was with the new developments in South Africa, was nevertheless typical of the people among whom he lived and, perhaps, the greatest figure of his time in the country.

(C) Southern Rhodesia

At this point it will be convenient to give a short account of the foundation and growth of Southern Rhodesia, whose contacts with the Union of South Africa have become increasingly close in recent years. The Matabele, after their defeat by the Voortrekkers in 1837, took possession of the Limpopo-Zambesi territory and subdued the Mashona and other tribes. In 1868 their Chief Moselekatze died and was succeeded by Lobengula. Almost twenty years later Portugal claimed the whole interior from Angola to Mozambique, but this was not recognized by Great Britain. As the Transvaal was also becoming interested in Mashonaland, the Rev. J. S. Moffatt, son of the more famous Robert, who was resident at Bulawayo, in February, 1888 secured a promise from Lobengula that he would not have any dealings with foreign powers without obtaining the consent of the High Commissioner. In October, three representatives of Rhodes, namely T. R. Maguire, C. D. Rudd and F. R. Thompson, secured from Lobengula the monopoly to work all the minerals in his territory in return for £100 a month and a gift of arms and ammunition and a small steam-boat! The following October the British Government granted to the British South Africa Company, which Rhodes had formed to exploit this concession, a Charter to open up and colonize the territory to the north of the Limpopo, but insisted that men of public repute, including the Duke of Fife, who had just married the eldest daughter of

the Prince of Wales, and the 4th Earl Grey, son of the former Colonial Secretary, should join the Board of Directors.

In 1890 the Pioneer Column led by the famous hunter, F. C. Selous, entered Matabeleland in search of the new Rand, which Rhodes hoped would eclipse that of the Transvaal, and on the 12th September Fort Salisbury was founded in Mashonaland. The next year the boundaries of the territory were settled with Portugal and arrangements made for the construction of a railway from Beira. In 1893 the Company's administration faced its first serious trial—the First Matabele War. The Matabele raided the Mashona and in July burnt kraals near the European settlement of Victoria. Dr. L. S. Jameson, who had become administrator in the previous year, telegraphed to Rhodes that it might be necessary to attack Bulawayo. Rhodes wired back "Read Luke XIV 31" and Jameson decided a thousand men were sufficient for his needs. There were no incidents for several months, until in October some police reported somewhat vaguely that they had been fired upon; Jameson promptly destroyed Lobengula's village of Bulawayo. Major Alan Wilson's patrol of 34 men was cut off by the rising of the Shangani River and annihilated in November. The next month Lobengula died and the war, which had not been of the Chief's seeking, was over.

Three years later there was the more serious Second Matabele War. Jameson had taken the bulk of the Company's Police off on his raid into the Transvaal and in March, 1896, the Matabele rose in revolt, half the Native Police rebelled and three hundred Europeans were murdered. A force of Imperial regulars from the Bechuanaland Protectorate under General Carrington and Colonel R. S. Baden-Powell drove the Matabele into the Matoppos, where Rhodes, who had great influence with the chiefs, courageously met them and arranged for their surrender and the settlement of their grievances concerning land, cattle and labour. The war cost the Company £2,500,000, but the one ray of hope in this year was the fact that the Company's railway through the Bechuanaland Protectorate at last reached Bulawayo.

In 1899 a Legislative Council was established and before long most of the members were elected. Three Rhodesian delegates attended the South African National Convention in 1908 in case Rhodesia should elect to enter the Union of South Africa at a later date. In 1914 the Company's original Charter expired, but it was extended for another ten years. As a result of a referendum held in 1922 Southern Rhodesia decided by 8,774 votes to 5,989 not to join the Union of South Africa as a fifth province, but to become a separate Colony, and so in the next year it was

annexed by the Crown and Responsible Government with certain restrictions (as recommended by the Buxton Committee in 1921) took the place of the rule of the Chartered Company. The arguments in favour of Rhodesia's joining the Union were undoubtedly sound, for the economic contacts between the two states were close and the European community of 33,000 in Rhodesia was a small one living among 770,000 Bantu of whom 60 per cent were in reserves. However, Rhodesians disliked the republican spirit that was still strong in South Africa and feared an influx of Poor Whites on the one hand and the migration of their own tribal Natives to the Rand mines on the other. The desire to experiment with self-government on their own before entering the Union was also strong. Finally, the South African elections in March, 1920, had indicated that General Smuts's Government was losing favour in the Union and this fact weakened the chances of the pro-Union group in Rhodesia, though General Smuts and his new Cabinet, which the English-speaking Unionist Party had joined, continued to favour incorporation and to offer Rhodesia generous terms in return for becoming a fifth province of the Union.

Sir Charles Coghlan was the first Prime Minister of the Colony of Southern Rhodesia and remained in office till his death in 1927, when he was followed by Mr. H. U. Moffat, grandson of the missionary, Robert Moffat, and nephew of the famous David Livingstone, who in the course of his Zambesi explorations had named the Victoria Falls. In 1933 Dr. (afterwards Sir Godfrey) Huggins became Premier and during his term of office the ties binding Southern Rhodesia and the great South African Dominion to the south were drawn closer under the stress of war and the need to face a common danger together.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

FEDERATION OR UNION

In previous chapters little mention has been made of the various attempts to form a South African confederation, that is a permanent union of sovereign states leagued together for their defence and general welfare as well as for the purpose of undertaking common external action. To bring our outline of events up to the establishment of the Union of South Africa on the 31st May, 1910, this aspect of South African history remains to be discussed.

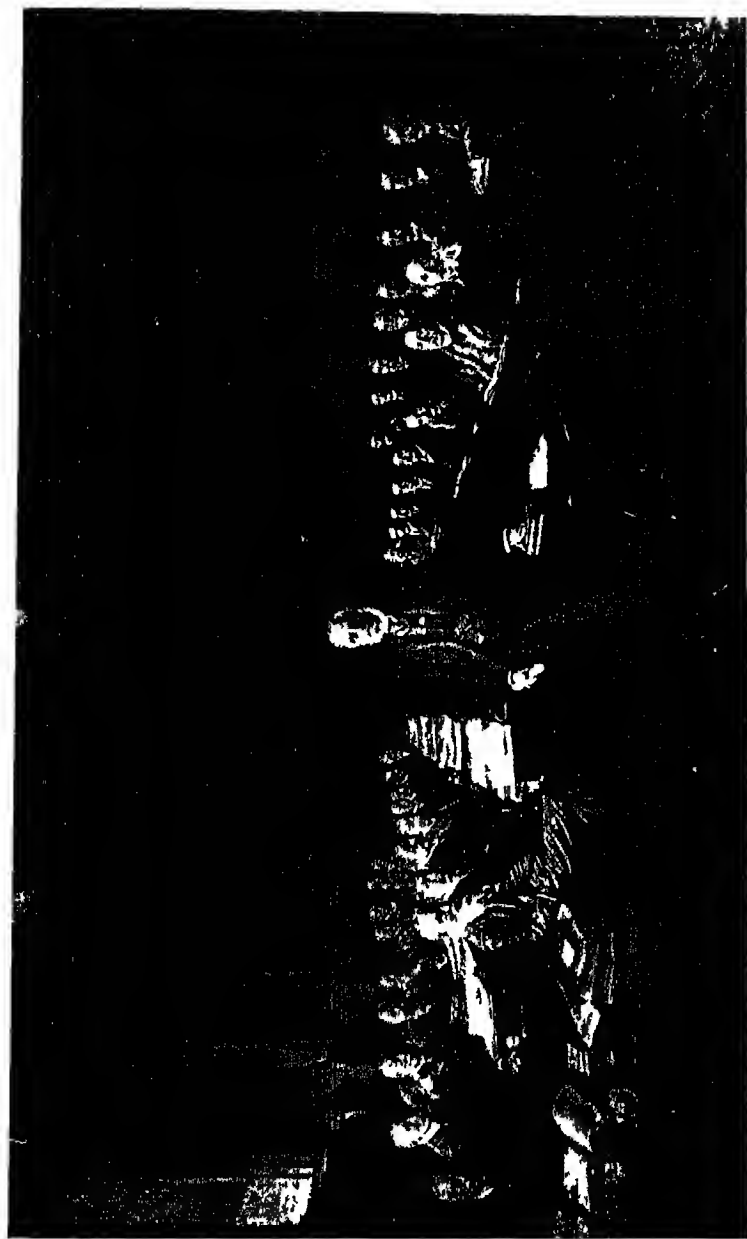
(A) *Sir George Grey's Federation Scheme, 1858-1860*

Sir George Grey was only 42 when he assumed office as High Commissioner and Governor of the Cape Colony at the end of 1854; he had previously been very successful as Governor of South Australia and then of New Zealand, where he had won the confidence of the Maori population. As Governor of the Cape he was concerned to make the Representative Constitution a success and to deal with the aftermath of the Eighth Kaffir War on the eastern frontier, while as High Commissioner he was responsible for the peace of all South Africa, "which," he said "appears to be drifting, by not very slow degrees, into disorder and barbarism," for at the time there were three British colonies, the Cape, Natal and British Kaffraria, and at least five so-called republics, only one of which, the Orange Free State, had a stable government. The other four north of the Vaal—Pretoria-Potchefstroom, Lydenburg, Zoutpansberg and Utrecht—were wrestling with each other and with the innumerable native tribes that surrounded them. Such was the disunion into which South Africa had been driven as a result of the Great Trek and the policy of the British Government embodied in the Sand River and Bloemfontein Conventions, which had been signed not long before Grey's arrival in the country.

In 1858 Sir E. Bulwer-Lytton, the sixth Colonial Secretary with whom Grey had to deal in the short period of his governorship, asked for his opinion on the federating of the three British colonies, and the Governor replied that it was advisable to federate these colonies and the O.F.S. and that he expected that the Transvaal communities would come into the federation at

a later date. The O.F.S. asked for a conference to discuss the matter and the Governor requested the Cape Parliament to give it favourable consideration. In his famous despatch to the Colonial Office, he pointed out that the High Commissioner, in the exercise of a vague British paramountcy over European states and Bantu tribes alike, was the only unifying force in South Africa and that it was desirable to unite all the European states effectively for several urgent reasons. In the first place he insisted that the Native question was one and indivisible and governed the whole situation and that the peace of South Africa could be secured only by the adoption of a common Native policy throughout the country. He emphasized his opinion that, if the states did not come together in peace, they would undoubtedly meet in war; for the breaking up of a single Native tribe was certain to have repercussions throughout the territory. The very weakness of the European states had encouraged the independent Native chiefs to defy them, while Britain's abandonment of the tribes to the north of the Orange had led them to combine for mutual protection. In the state of general lawlessness then prevailing in South Africa inter-state trade could reach only negligible proportions and the revenues of the various governments were consequently so small that they could not adequately provide even for their own defence against their Bantu neighbours. Moreover, the other problems with which the petty states had to deal were so small that they could not hope to produce real statesmen, learned judges or an efficient judicial administration.

All these factors pointed towards the urgent necessity of acting on Grey's advice, but, as the Liberals of the Little England School were in power in Britain, the Governor was recalled for advocating an extension of British responsibility in South Africa and in August, 1859, he sailed from Cape Town to discuss matters in London with yet another Colonial Secretary, for in the meantime Bulwer-Lytton had made way for the Duke of Newcastle. It was in the following July that Grey returned to South Africa but in little more than a year he was on his way to New Zealand for a second term of office. He was reappointed as High Commissioner and Governor on undertaking not to pursue his federal policy, as the British Government, having recognized the independence of the Transvaalers in 1852, and abandoned the Orange River Sovereignty in 1854, was still averse from assuming sovereign responsibility in any shape or form in territory beyond the Orange River. Thus the first plan to federate the states failed on account of opposition from the British Government of the day. Over thirty years later President Reitz of the O.F.S. wrote to



THE FOUNDERS OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA —The National Convention
[Reproduced by permission of the artist Professor Edward Roworth]



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A KINDERGARTEN GROUP

Back row: Lionel Curtis, Nel Hichens, Peggy Barry, Hugh Wyndham, Herbert Baker, Geoffrey Dawson, Lord Salisbury (High Commissioner), Robert Brand, Percy I. Duncan, Lady Salisbury, Lord Long (Secretary), John Dove, Don J. Malcolm, Richard Peckham, On Monday, Sir Kenneth (later Marquess of Lichfield),

Sir George Grey, then living in retirement in New Zealand, "Had British ministers in times past been wise enough to follow your advice there would undoubtedly be today a British dominion extending from Table Bay to the Zambesi . . . but there can be no doubt from an Englishman's point of view, the fact that your policy in this direction was so often rejected can only be regarded as a calamity." (1893)

(B) *The Earl of Carnarvon's Federation Scheme, 1874-1878*

The next proposal to form a federation of the European states in South Africa was made by Lord Carnarvon, the Colonial Secretary in the Conservative Government headed by Benjamin Disraeli which assumed office early in 1874. As Secretary of State for the Colonies in a previous government Carnarvon had assisted in federating the British colonies in North America into the Dominion of Canada in 1867. As an able and close student of colonial affairs, he was convinced of the need of pursuing a similar policy in South Africa. In any case federation was in the air, for in 1871 both the federal German Empire and the united Kingdom of Italy had been established, while a few years before on the other side of the Atlantic the great federation known as the United States of America had been prevented from falling asunder, though only at the price of a bitterly-contested civil war. In South Africa itself the arguments in favour of federation had become more pressing with the passing of the years, for, though a single republic had been established north of the Vaal, it was beset with many difficulties and, though the Cape Colony had absorbed both British Kaffraria and Basutoland, the Crown Colony of Griqualand West had just been established and little Natal was threatened with a Zulu invasion. Then the Langa-tibalele affair in Natal and the Secokoeni trouble in the Transvaal both showed that a single state was not capable of dealing with Native difficulties on its own. The Native problem was a national one and Carnarvon was convinced that it could be solved only on a national basis by a federal body representative of all the states. Social and economic questions, as a result of the discovery of diamonds, had also grown in complexity since Grey's time and Carnarvon realized more clearly than did most S. African authorities the dangers of the different governments' continuing to follow their own economic policies, which exercised a stranglehold over the development of inter-state trade. Not only did the two coastal colonies refuse to share the customs duties collected at their ports with their land-locked neighbours, but Natal and the Cape were actually competing with each other for the control of the trade of the interior. At least two other factors influenced

Carnarvon in working for federation in South Africa—his desire to reduce British garrisons in the country and thus spare Her Majesty's purse, and his fear of foreign intervention in the confused situation in South Africa, where Germany was already showing some interest in the affairs of the Transvaal.

J. A. Froude, the well-known historian, visited South Africa in 1874 and reported regularly to Lord Carnarvon on the state of affairs in the country, so that in the next year the Colonial Secretary was encouraged to instruct the High Commissioner, Sir Henry Barkly, to summon a conference representative of all the South African governments to discuss federation, a common Native policy and the control of the gun traffic, while Froude returned to South Africa to influence public opinion in support of the British Government's proposals. However, the High Commissioner failed to arrange the suggested conference, for the Cape Government led by J. C. Molteno, the Premier, was opposed to federation at the time, as the Colony had just obtained Responsible Government and regarded the Colonial Secretary's proposals as an interference with their new rights. The Cape Colony as the wealthiest of the S. African states would have to bear the major share of the costs of federation and was anxious to try out its new constitution before assuming additional responsibilities. The O.F.S. and Transvaal were also opposed to federation, through their dissatisfaction with the Keate Award in the Diamond Fields Dispute and the British annexation of Griqualand West, while, as a result of the award in 1875 by which President Mac Mahon of the French Republic had declared Delagoa to fall within Portuguese territory, the Transvaal had been given the use of a port independent of British ports and so was less likely than ever to enter a federation in which the British colonies might take the lead.

Carnarvon then called a second conference in London in August, 1876, but only Griqualand West and Natal were officially represented, the former by Froude and the latter by Shepstone. Though President Brand and Mr. Molteno were both in London at the time, they had not the necessary authority of their governments to attend the conference. Thus the second attempt to federate the South African states failed on account of the opposition it met in South Africa. It was at this stage that Lord Carnarvon, having failed to get the Cape Government to take the lead, listened to the arguments of Shepstone and determined to attempt federation as described in Chapter Thirteen through the annexation of the Transvaal, which resulted in the First Boer War and the abandonment of federation plans for years to come.

for in 1881 the Colonial Secretary, Lord Kimberley, told the High Commissioner, Sir Hercules Robinson, to drop the whole question until the South African states themselves took the initiative.

(C) *Cecil Rhodes' Federal Policy*

In the two preceding chapters the attitude of Rhodes to federation was discussed. He approved of the Customs Union formed by the Cape and O.F.S. in 1889 in the belief that as the Zollverein, an economic union, had preceded the political union of the German states in a federal empire, so it would be in S. Africa. In succession the Customs Union was joined by Basutoland (1891), Bechuanaland (1893) and Natal (1898), but the opposition of the Kruger Government in the Transvaal and the policy of Rhodes himself in the Jameson Raid destroyed all prospect of a united South Africa in his day. Nevertheless, the belief of Rhodes both in its necessity and ultimate achievement was unshaken. Towards the end of 1900 in the midst of the Boer War in addressing a meeting in Cape Town, he used these prophetic words: "You think you have beaten the Dutch. But it is not so. The Dutch are not beaten; what is beaten is Krugerism, a corrupt and evil government, no more Dutch in essence than English. No! The Dutch are as vigorous and unconquered to-day as they have ever been; the country is still as much theirs as it is yours, and you will have to live and work with them hereafter as in the past. Remember *that* when you go back to your homes in the towns or in the up-country farms and villages: let there be no vaunting words, no vulgar triumph over your Dutch neighbours; make them feel that the bitterness is past and that the need of co-operation is greater than ever; teach your children to remember when they go to their village school that the little Dutch boys and girls they find sitting on the same benches with them are as much part of the South African nation as they are themselves, and that as they learn the same lessons together now, so hereafter they must work together as comrades for a common object—the good of South Africa."

(D) *Events leading to Union, 1902-1910* ✓

As a result of the Boer War and the Treaty of Vereeniging (described in the concluding paragraph of Chapter XIV), the South African states settled by Boers and Britons were brought under one sovereign and the way prepared for their ultimate federation or union. In this connection it is no paradox to say that out of strife harmony has come. Even before the end of the war Lord Milner as High Commissioner and his brilliant young

staff, nicknamed the Kindergarten, had established a civil administration, set up law courts with judges from the Cape and reopened the schools so that with 42,000 on the roll there were more children at school than ever before. (A beginning had also been made with the restoration of the vital gold-mining industry. After the signing of peace Lord Kitchener departed, Crown Colony government was established and Milner, who had been raised to the peerage in 1901, was left in charge with a free hand to carry on the great task of reconstruction. In the Transvaal there was soon a Legislative Council of sixteen official and fourteen nominated members and in 1903 a similar body was established in the Orange River Colony. By March of the same year the British forces had been reduced to 30,000; all the people in the concentration camps had been re-established in their homes, for to save time and minimize distress Milner gave aid first and asked for proof of their claims afterwards; and there were only a thousand fighting men still overseas in the prisoner of war camps. Of the promised British loan fixed at £35,000,000 by Chamberlain on his visit to South Africa in December, 1902, roughly two-thirds was spent in buying out the railway companies and extending the lines which were doubled in length in the five years after the signing of the Treaty of Vereeniging. Roads were constructed, irrigation, forestry and agricultural development schemes started and municipal government on modern lines introduced in the larger towns, while in 1904 the importation of 23,000 Chinese coolies, consequent upon the shortage of Native labour for the mines, was followed by a great increase in the output of gold and the mining companies were obliged to improve conditions for their workers, European and non-European alike. In fact the transformation of the great industry of the Reef into a model one really dates from these times. The years immediately following the conclusion of peace were not unprosperous, for much British money was spent in South Africa during the War, which had cost the British tax-payer £250,000,000, and capital and immigrants continued to come into the country, but soon the inevitable slump came and brought much distress with it.

(Much of the success of the great administrative work Milner did in the country was due to his brilliant civil service,) "the like of which has never been seen in South Africa before or since." John Buchan, one of the Kindergarten, in his reminiscences, *Memory-Hold-the-Door*, writes of his chief, "For the better part of three years I had the privilege of watching this strong mind at work. But I think a higher privilege was that I was

brought into close touch with a great character. Milner was the most selfless man I have ever known: he thought of his work and his cause, much of his colleagues, never of himself. He simply was not interested in what attracts common ambition. He could not be bribed, for there was nothing on the globe wherewith to bribe him; or deterred by personal criticism, for he cared not at all for fame; and it would have been as easy to bully the solar system, since he did not know the meaning of fear." Milner's young assistants were worthy of their chief, as their later work also shows. Many subsequently had brilliant careers; some died in the prime of their manhood in the Great War or soon afterwards. They were men of intelligence, energy and enthusiasm, convinced of the need for logical thinking about the political reconstruction of South Africa and the constitutional framework of the Empire. They were all between twenty-five and thirty years of age and in their circle the idea of the Union of South Africa first took shape. When it had been accomplished, most of them returned to London to find new fields of endeavour, as their South African mission had been fulfilled. There, with the financial assistance of Sir Abe Bailey, they founded their own organ, the quarterly *Round Table*, to study the problems of the British Commonwealth, and later they assisted in forming the Royal Institute of International Affairs at Chatham House, whose influence between the two World wars was very important. In this short account it is only possible to name a few members of that band of brothers known in South Africa as the Oxford Kindergarten. From Milner's own college, Balliol, there came Patrick Duncan, who had served under him at Somerset House when Milner was Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue. Duncan reorganized the Transvaal finances and, making South Africa his home, lived to become the first Union National chosen by H.M. the King to represent him in the Union of S. Africa in the high office of Governor General. Then there was John Buchan, who having made a great name as a writer of fiction, biography and history, as Lord Tweedsmuir was equally successful as proconsul when Governor General of Canada, where he died in office in 1940. Geoffrey Robinson, having assumed the name of Dawson, became for 25 years Editor of *The Times* of London, the most famous of all newspapers. R. Feetham, who remained in South Africa, became a judge of the Supreme Court, and presided over the Irish Boundaries Commission and the Shanghai Municipal Commission. Most of the Kindergarten had been at New College—Lionel Curtis, the first Town Clerk of Johannesburg, later

became Professor of Colonial History at Oxford and the author of *Civitas Dei* (The Commonwealth of God), one of the great books of our time; the Hon. Robert Brand, the Secretary of the Transvaal delegation at the National Convention, became a prominent banker; Lionel Hitchens, who was killed in an air raid on London in 1940, was then the head of a great steel, engineering and shipbuilding combine; Edward Grigg, who came to South Africa later than most of the others, was Governor of Kenya from 1925 to 1931; Sir Dougal Malcolm, another late arrival, was influential as private secretary to Lord Selborne, Milner's successor; Philip Kerr, who in 1930 succeeded his cousin as 11th Marquess of Lothian, was joint editor with Edward Grigg of *The Round Table*, then private secretary to Lloyd George, the British Premier during the second part of the Great War, Secretary to the Rhodes Trust, Under-Secretary of State for India for a short time and finally British Ambassador to the U.S.A., where he died in Washington in December, 1940. Others, who became famous and were associated with the group, were Sir Herbert Baker, the great architect, and L. S. Amery, who was the chief correspondent of *The Times* during the Boer War and became a cabinet minister in several British Governments. Several of the Kindergarten at one time or another were Fellows of All Souls' College at Oxford, a college that has no students, but only members who serve as professors for periods of seven years, so that there is a succession of outstanding young jurists, historians and students of the political sciences in residence. It would be difficult to over-estimate the debt of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony or for that matter of South Africa as a whole, to Lord Milner and his young men from Oxford, who did so much to prepare the way for the formation of the Union of South Africa.

In March, 1903, Lord Milner, who firmly believed federation was necessary for the welfare of South Africa persuaded the four colonies, the three Native territories (Swaziland, Basutoland and Bechuanaland), and Southern Rhodesia to re-form the Customs Union and thus internal free trade was secured. He had amalgamated the railways of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony to the advantage of both and shortly before leaving South Africa he urged local statesmen to strive for the amalgamation of all the systems in the country. Despite the formation of an economic union, some form of political union was as desirable as it had ever been in order to unify the various state railway systems, which were becoming a source of division rather than a bond of union, and to remove the fear of loss of customs revenue by the

Cape and Natal ports to Delagoa Bay, which was gaining more and more of the Transvaal trade. (In 1908 about 67% of the traffic of the Rand went through Lourenço Marques and only 11% to the Cape ports, which in 1894 had quite 80% of the Rand trade, while Durban's share of the traffic was also steadily declining. (Then it was imperative to deal on common lines with Asiatic problems in Natal and the Transvaal, where Mahatma Gandhi was organizing a campaign of passive resistance against restrictive legislation, and to tackle the Bantu problem on a national basis, especially in view of the 1906 rebellions in Natal, which proved once again that what was manifestly a single problem could not be handled by half-a-dozen centrifugal Native Affairs Departments. Moreover, federation would reduce considerably the costs of government and simplify the question of defence, which in view of the political situation developing in Europe was a matter of some urgency. The waste and confusion of four governments, four treasuries and four sets of laws was a serious drawback to the progress of all Southern Africa.)

(In April, 1905, the able and popular Earl of Selborne, who had held high office as Colonial Under-Secretary and then First Lord of the Admiralty, became High Commissioner and Governor of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony in succession to Lord Milner, whose health had broken down. (He was soon convinced that federation must come quickly if serious trouble between the rival colonies was to be averted.) The Colonial Secretary, the Rt. Hon. Alfred Lyttelton, proposed to set up representative government in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony each having a unicameral legislature, partly official but chiefly elective, having full powers save in regard to certain reserved subjects. However, the Lyttelton Constitution was never introduced, for public opinion in the colonies favoured full self-government and in December, 1905, the Conservative Government of Mr. Arthur Balfour fell and the Liberal Party led by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman emerged from the general election with a bigger majority than any government had had since the days of the Great Reform Bill of 1832. (The cry of Chinese slavery in the Transvaal played its part in the defeat of the Conservatives and, as the supply of Bantu labour soon exceeded the demand of the gold industry, the Chinese were sent home as their contracts expired, the last leaving early in 1910.)

The new British Cabinet with the Earl of Elgin at the Colonial Office determined to grant the Transvaal and Orange River Colony responsible government forthwith, since in January, 1905, General Louis Botha had formed *Het Volk* in the Transvaal pledged to a

policy of conciliation and self-government, while in the next month ex-President Steyn took a similar line in the Orange River Colony. Thus in 1906 the Transvaal obtained Responsible Government with a Cabinet, a nominated Legislative Council of fifteen members to become elective after four years and an elected House of Assembly of 69 members (Rand 34, Pretoria 6, rural areas 29). Botha's party, *Het Volk*, with 37 seats had a majority over all other parties and in February, 1907, he became Prime Minister with General Smuts as his chief lieutenant in the Cabinet. Swaziland, which had been ruled by the Governor of the Transvaal since 1903, was transferred to the direct control of the High Commissioner, for as in the case of Bechuanaland and Basutoland, the chiefs and their people preferred the rule of the Imperial authorities to that of their neighbours. In the same year the Orange River Colony obtained a similar constitution with a Legislative Council of eleven members and an Assembly of 38 (11 urban and 27 rural constituencies). (Mr. A. Fischer became Premier and General J. B. M. Hertzog Attorney-General.) (Thus within five years of the Treaty of Vereeniging the two former republics were ruled as British colonies by the defeated Boer leaders who had signed the peace, and union was brought much nearer, as the four colonies were on a footing of political equality. The British Government's great venture of faith was fully justified by events, for it stimulated Botha's ideal of reconciliation and Jan Hofmeyr's policy of South Africanism in the Cape, where as far back as 1903 he had renamed the Bond the South African Party to win over the moderate Britons.) ✓

In July, 1907, Lord Selborne, believing that the British minority should make the first move, published *A Review of the Present Mutual Relations of the British South African Colonies*, which had been prepared with the co-operation of several members of the Kindergarten. He advocated the federation of the four colonies, asserting that the various railway systems were "absolutely incompatible" and that inter-state railway and customs disputes would have to be settled sooner or later by "arbitration or the sword." Under the inspiration of the Kindergarten, notably Lionel Curtis and Philip Kerr, Closer Union Societies were formed throughout the length and breadth of the country to study other federal constitutions and to work for the closer union of the South African states. Financed by Sir Abe Bailey, *The State* was founded as a monthly journal with the same objects and under the editorship of Kerr was an important factor in creating a public opinion favourable to the federal movement. The Selborne Memorandum was well

received, but, nevertheless, the Transvaal Government gave notice of withdrawing from the Customs Union when the agreement expired in the next year. However, in the Cape F. S. Malan, the leader of the erstwhile Bond, proposed a resolution in favour of closer union and this was seconded by Dr. L. S. Jameson, then Premier in the Colony's Unionist Government, and supported by J. H. Hofmeyr, as always on the side of moderation and conciliation. Two or three months before this Hofmeyr in making a plea for union in a public speech said, "I am firmly convinced of it that we have a real and actual interest in the maintenance of the British Empire and of the British Sea Power as a means thereto," for Jan Hofmeyr who may be looked upon as one of the pioneers in the movement towards the modern conception of Dominion Status, realized that Britain's command of the seas enabled all the South African states to devote themselves unmenaced from outside to the solution of their urgent internal problems. A few days later Jameson met him more than half-way. "There is no reason," he said, "why the two great parties in this country should not settle down and bring about the natural realization of a South African nationality in a federal South Africa, which will be part of the British Empire."

(The Customs Conference, which met at Pretoria in May, 1908, passed six resolutions moved by General Smuts, the first of which read as follows, "That in the opinion of this Conference the best interests and permanent prosperity of South Africa can only be secured by an early Union under the Crown of Great Britain of the several self-governing colonies." Other resolutions called upon the four parliaments to make arrangements for the summoning of a National Convention to discuss the closer union of the states and extended the railway and customs agreements for another year.)

The necessary steps were taken and the National Convention met first at Durban in October, 1908, under the chairmanship of Sir J. H. de Villiers, the respected Chief Justice of the Cape Colony. In November it adjourned to Cape Town and it concluded its labours at Bloemfontein in the following May, when it considered amendments proposed by the State Parliaments. The thirty delegates—Cape 12, Transvaal 8, O.R.C. 5 and Natal 5—were chosen by the State Parliaments and were representative of all political parties. In addition there were three representatives from Southern Rhodesia, who had not the right to vote, as it was not intended that Rhodesia should join the proposed union at once. Among the delegates were the four premiers—John X. Merriman,

who had succeeded Jameson earlier in the year, Louis Botha, Abram Fischer and F. R. Moor. Practically every outstanding figure of the day among local statesmen attended the Convention, where former Uitlanders—Jameson, George Farrar, Percy Fitzpatrick and H. C. Hull—and former Republican leaders—Steyn, Smuts, de la Rey, de Wet and Hertzog—sat side by side. Yet the unanimity was remarkable, for something more than a mere political union was being effected. (An even more important national union was in the making. The Convention's draft constitution, based largely on the proposals of the Transvaal delegation which came to the conference armed with a constitution framed by Smuts and Lionel Curtis, was approved by the parliaments of the Cape, the O.R.C. and the Transvaal and in Natal it was accepted by a referendum.) In an electorate of 34,700 the draft constitution was approved by 11,121 and rejected by 3,701. The constitution was taken to Britain by a delegation, among whom was "Onze Jan" Hofmeyr who died in London in October. It was passed by the British Parliament and as the South Africa Act was signed by King Edward VII on the 20th September, 1909. It was decided that the Act of Union should come into operation on the 31st May, 1910, the eighth anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Vereeniging.)

(E) The Constitution of the Union of South Africa

(By a majority the Convention decided on uniting the four states in a union rather than a federation, which was favoured only by the Natal delegates. In a union the uniting states cease to exist from a constitutional point of view, the new central government, which is supreme, delegating certain powers to subordinate authorities, while the constitution itself is flexible or easy to amend.) In a federation, such as the U.S.A. or Australia, the federating states give only certain powers to the central government, resulting in a division of authority between the federal and state governments and a rigid constitution, which is difficult to alter. A unitary constitution was preferred in South Africa to a federal one for several reasons. It was felt that a strong central government was necessary to control policy towards Natives and Asiatics. Then national sentiment favoured the closer form of uniting states in order to unite the two dominant white peoples in the country into one nation more rapidly. A union would be less expensive than a federal form of government and the finances of the country would be simplified. Two or three other matters caused sharp differences of opinion and considerable discussion in the meetings of the Convention, all of which were wisely held in secret, and led to compromise

settlements. One difficulty was the question of a capital and in the end it was decided that Cape Town was to be the legislative and Pretoria the administrative capital and Bloemfontein the seat of the Court of Appeal. The Transvaal, not unwisely, spent its surplus on building the massive Union Buildings at Pretoria to the plans of Sir Herbert Baker to be the headquarters of the departments of state. The question of the franchise also caused difficulties and it was decided that the qualifications for the franchise should remain the same in each state as before union. In other words the colour bar, which existed in the Transvaal and the renamed Orange Free State and, in practice, in Natal, was maintained, while the rights of coloured voters in the Cape Province were protected by a clause stating that the coloured franchise could not be altered except by the agreement of at least two-thirds of the members of both houses of parliament sitting together. The safeguarding clause was itself protected in the same way. (In the Cape non-Europeans lost their right to stand for Parliament, but they could seek election to the new Provincial Council of the Cape Province. Dutch and English were made the official languages and this clause too could only be altered in the same manner as the coloured franchise. (In 1925 Afrikaans took the place of Dutch as an official language). But for these two restrictions the South African Constitution is a flexible one.) The adequate representation of rural areas was provided for and the adult male European population was taken as the basis for the allocation of the 121 seats in the lower houses of Parliament (Cape Province 51, Transvaal 36, O.F.S. 17, Natal 17), which were ultimately to be 150. The Railway Budget, was to be kept separately from the general Budget and the railways were to be run on business lines.

The Governor General—for twenty years the office was combined with that of High Commissioner—is the deputy of the King and as such is the head of the State and of the military and naval forces of the Dominion. He is appointed by the King on the advice of the South African Cabinet (since 1931) for a period of five years and the government of the country is conducted in his name, but he acts always on the advice of the Cabinet. In other words the executive authority in the Union belongs to the Governor-General-in-Council, that is the Governor General acting on the advice of the Executive Council (Cabinet or Ministry), which is composed of the leading members of Parliament (originally ten) belonging to the political party in power in the lower house. The Cabinet is responsible to Parliament for the government of the country and thus administers the laws passed by Parliament. The Cabinet remains in office for as

long as the party to which it belongs retains the majority in the House of Assembly, but as soon as the majority has been lost the Prime Minister must resign on behalf of the Cabinet. The Governor General appoints the Premier, who is always the leader of the party in power, and he then selects the other ministers from his chief supporters in Parliament to be in charge of the various departments of State; for example Finance, Defence, Education, Justice, Native Affairs, Transport and Mines. Each minister is responsible for the conduct of his own department, but the Cabinet as a whole is responsible for the government of the country. Thus the opinion of the Cabinet must be united on every question of importance and a minister who disagrees with his colleagues must resign.

The legislative or law-making part of the constitution consists of the Governor General and Parliament, that is the Senate and the House of Assembly. The Senate is the upper house, having, according to the South Africa Act, a membership of forty. Eight of them are nominated by the Governor-General-in-Council, and half of these must have a special knowledge of native affairs. Eight are elected for each province by the Provincial Council and members of the House of Assembly for the province. They are elected for ten years, choose their own President and revise the legislation of the lower house. The House of Assembly is elected by the parliamentary voters for five years. The Assembly chooses one of its own members as the Speaker or chairman of the House to hold office till the next general election. The South African Parliament has power to legislate on all matters concerning the Union. In terms of the South Africa Act a deadlock between the two houses is overcome by a meeting of both houses sitting together.

As a concession to federalism the Act provides for some local government by the four Provinces. Each Provincial Council contains the same number of members as the province has in the House of Assembly with a minimum of twenty-five. They are elected by the parliamentary voters for five years (originally three). At the head of each province is the Administrator, who is appointed by the Governor-General-in-Council for five years and paid by the Union Government. He is the Chairman of the Executive Committee of four members, usually provincial councillors, who are chosen in proportion to the strength of the parties in the Provincial Council and hold office during its lifetime. The powers of the Councils are granted to them by the Governor-General-in-Council and they may be altered at any time. Among other matters they control elementary

and secondary education, hospitals and country roads, and supervise the activities of municipal councils. They are confined to the raising of direct taxation and their ordinances require the ratification of the Governor-General-in-Council.

The Schedule to the South Africa Act contains the conditions governing the possible transfer at some future time of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland from the control of the Imperial authorities to the Union Government. When this change is effected the place of the High Commissioner will be taken by the Prime Minister and a non-parliamentary committee on the lines of the India Council, which advises the Secretary of State for India on matters affecting the Indian Empire. Other stipulations in the Schedule secure to the Natives the ownership of their tribal lands, prohibit the sale of liquor and ensure that revenue derived from a particular territory shall be expended in it.

Such in broad outline is the constitution that united the Cape Province, the Transvaal, the Orange Free State and Natal on the first Union Day in 1910.) The first elections resulted in the South African National Party obtaining 66 members in the Assembly and Jameson's Unionist Party 39, while there were 12 Independents, chiefly from Natal, and four Labour members. The Premiership lay between the veteran John X. Merriman and Louis Botha. The choice of the Governor General, Viscount Gladstone, a son of the great British Premier, fell on General Botha, to whom Lionel Curtis pays tribute in *Civitas Dei*: "He was beyond measure the greatest man I have ever been privileged to meet. . . . His greatness lay in his own unerring instinct for values, in his judgment of men and the qualities which lift some men above others, and also of military and political situations. This sureness of judgment had made him realize the priceless value of truth in handling men. By unswerving faith to a treaty he had signed under duress he united two races who had long fought with each other, and died their ruler. His fidelity and political insight gave to this world-wide commonwealth foundations deeper than those which his military genius had once shaken." In October the stage was set for the opening of the first Union Parliament at Cape Town. It had been intended that the Prince of Wales should perform this ceremony, but the death of the King in May brought him to the throne of his fathers as King George V and so he deputed his uncle, the Duke of Connaught, who was accompanied by the Duchess and their daughter, Princess Patricia, to open the first Parliament of the Union of South Africa in the King's name and thus to inaugurate a new and auspicious chapter in the history of Southern Africa.

THE FIRST TWENTY YEARS OF UNION, 1910-1930

(A) Pre-War Problems, 1910-1914

The first Union Cabinet was representative of the four provinces and of both the Afrikaner and British sections of the population. General Botha's most able lieutenants were J. C. Smuts, who held the portfolio of Defence, F. S. Malan in charge of Education, and J. B. M. Hertzog, the Minister of Justice. However, there was soon a split in the Cabinet, which had been chosen largely on a federal basis, for in June, 1912, Mr. H. C. Hull, the Minister of Finance, resigned as a result of a disagreement with the Minister of Railways, Mr. J. W. Sauer, on the question of the financial relations of their respective departments. Later in the same year there was a more serious breach in the unity of the Cabinet on the score of South Africa's relation to the British Empire and the outcome was that the Premier resigned in December and then re-formed his Ministry without General Hertzog as a member of it. Botha's conception of South Africanism was that it should be something dynamic, gradually absorbing the newer elements that had contributed to the formation of White South Africa, whereas Hertzog regarded it as something static and narrow to be protected against so-called foreign influences. It was proving increasingly difficult to maintain these two conflicting points of view within the South African National Party and in the next year the Party was irretrievably split, when General Hertzog and Christiaan de Wet formed the National Party in opposition to the South African Party led by Botha and Smuts. These and other problems showed that the work of the National Convention was far from being final and complete and that much remained to be done before the diverse elements in the country could be regarded as a nation.

This internal crisis in the Cabinet was no sooner surmounted than the Government was faced with serious labour difficulties on the Witwatersrand. In 1911 the small Labour Party had secured the adoption of the Mines and Works Act, which introduced the principle of the colour bar in industry by closing to Natives the skilled occupations that carried the higher wages. It was aimed at driving the Natives from the labour market back to the land from which they had been ejected in earlier days. This

concession to the interests of European labour was followed in July, 1913, by a strike in the gold-mining industry of the Reef involving the whole issue of the recognition of trade unions. In the ensuing riots there was some loss of life, but victory lay with the miners and both the Government and the Chamber of Mines recognized the trade unions, while rules were also drafted for the settlement of industrial disputes in the future. Barely six months had passed when in January, 1914, a railway strike developed into a general strike that involved the mines. The Government declared martial law, called up the Active Citizen Force and forced the leaders of the strike to surrender; nine of them were deported illegally. However, more reforms were introduced, including increased phthisis compensation and protected wages.

Soon after the formation of the Union the question of the Indian population again came to the fore. In 1911 there were 150,000 Indians in S. Africa of whom 133,000 were in Natal, where they outnumbered the Europeans by 35,000. Of these Natal Indians 40,000 were still under indenture. Before Union the Transvaal Government had introduced a registration fee for Indians and had practically excluded other Indians from entering the Transvaal, which had an Indian population of 11,000. On behalf of these Indians Mr. M. K. Gandhi appealed to General Smuts, but a repeal of the restrictive laws was refused and it was then that the Indians began a policy of passive resistance to them. At the age of nineteen Mr. Gandhi had gone to London in 1888 to read for the Bar. Five years later he came to South Africa as a barrister to fight a case for a client and he remained in the country to take up the cause of his compatriots. During the Anglo-Boer War he organized and took charge of a Red Cross unit and on the conclusion of peace he settled in Johannesburg. In 1913 the Union Parliament passed the Immigration Bill, under which the authorities could debar from entering South Africa anyone whose habits of life were unsuited to the requirements of the Union, though no special mention was made of Asiatics. Gandhi at once demanded reforms in the harsh administration of the immigration laws. In effect he asked that the rights of European British subjects be extended to men who were of low caste in India. As a protest against the fact that Indians were prohibited immigrants from other countries into South Africa and between province and province within the Union, Gandhi in 1913 led a procession of 2,000 Indians on foot from Natal to the Transvaal where at Laing's Nek they sat down and awaited arrest. Many were arrested, but they were soon released and a commission

headed by Sir William Solomon and Sir B. Robertson, a member of the Indian Civil Service, was appointed to investigate their grievances. The outcome was the Indian Relief Act and in June, 1914, by the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement the latter acquiesced in the Act, which abolished the tax of £3 on those Indians in Natal who neither re-indentured nor returned to India.) Though Gandhi shortly afterwards went back to India, where he was at the zenith of his influence seven or eight years later, and the last of the contracts expired in 1916, this agreement has been used by the South African Indian community as the basis to win relief from other disabilities.

(B) The Great War, 1914-1919

These local disorders, European and Indian, were hardly over when the storm broke which had been brewing in Europe for several years and a general European war broke out in which Great Britain, France and Russia, joined later by Italy and the U.S.A., fought the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires supported by Turkey and Bulgaria, for over four years. In accordance with the constitutional practice of the time, the Union of South Africa as a member of the British Empire was automatically involved in hostilities when Great Britain declared war, on the 4th August. On the same day the South African Cabinet offered to assume entire responsibility for the military protection of the Union and thus release 6,000 British troops for service elsewhere. Somewhat later, at the Admiralty's request, the Union Government also agreed to co-operate in the capture of the German wireless stations at Luderitzbucht, Swakopmund and Windhoek in German South West Africa. At this time Lord Chief Justice de Villiers was acting as Officer Administering the Government pending the arrival of the new Governor General, Viscount Buxton, who did not reach Cape Town until the 8th September. Two days previous to his arrival, Lord de Villiers, the Grand Old Man of South African political life, died after a public career extending over a period of forty years. The new Governor-General, as Mr. Sydney Charles Buxton, had been Under-Secretary for the Colonies from 1892 to 1895 and Postmaster-General in the Liberal Cabinet which had granted responsible government to the Transvaal and Orange River Colony so soon after the Anglo-Boer War. The day after his arrival the Governor General, who was soon on terms of close friendship with his Prime Minister, opened the Union Parliament, which approved the actions of the Cabinet in regard to the war. The Defence Act of 1912, which was the outcome of the Imperial Defence Conference held in London the previous year, had

established a small Permanent Force and introduced a modified form of compulsory service in regiments of the Active Citizen Force or in Rifle Associations. It was a system that combined certain features of the British territorial army with others adopted from the Boer commandos and was well suited to South African conditions, but the country could hardly be regarded as prepared for war.

It was not surprising that many Transvaalers and Free Staters disapproved of the Government's war policy and that some saw in Great Britain's preoccupation with the war in Europe their own opportunity to regain their lost independence. The rebellion that broke out in parts of the Transvaal and Free State in the last months of 1914, was due to a variety of causes, but undoubtedly the chief one was the desire to re-establish the two former republics as sovereign independent states. After the outbreak of the war in Europe there had been several alarms and excursions in South Africa, but the danger of a rebellion appeared to have passed when on the 15th September General C. R. Beyers resigned as Commandant-General of the Union Defence Force. He met General de la Rey in Pretoria and they set off by car for Potchefstroom probably with the intention of fomenting rebellion in the Western Transvaal. The police on the Witwatersrand were searching for a gang of desperadoes and had been instructed to stop all cars leaving Johannesburg. General Beyers ignored the signal to stop, a policeman fired at his car and General de la Rey, the chivalrous leader of Boer War days, was killed. This was on the evening of the 15th September. This fatal accident upset the plans of Beyers and again it appeared as though the storm clouds had lifted, until Beyers and General de Wet called on the Government to abandon the proposed campaign against the German colony on the Union's western borders.

Then Colonel Maritz, the officer in command of a contingent of the Union Defence Force at Upington, who had been acting in a suspicious manner for some time, was ordered to Pretoria, but on the 9th October he deserted to the Germans in South West Africa, whose Governor had promised him an independent South Africa and authority to annex Delagoa Bay in exchange for the surrender of Walvis Bay to Germany. The Government immediately proclaimed martial law, but despite the efforts of ex-President Steyn to maintain peace de Wet and a Major Kemp went into active rebellion and occupied a few towns in the O.F.S. and Western Transvaal. Towards the end of October General Botha scattered the commando led by Beyers near Rustenburg. The Government soon had 30,000 men in the field, most of whom

were Afrikaners commanded by General Botha's old companions of the Boer War, for the Prime Minister wisely regarded the rebellion as a family affair among Afrikaners in which he did not desire to embroil the British section of the population. General de Wet was routed early in November and three weeks later he was captured, while Beyers in attempting to escape from the Government forces was drowned in the Vaal River early in December. Kemp at the head of seven or eight hundred men succeeded in joining Maritz in German territory, but before Christmas the short-lived revolt was really at an end. In February, 1915, Kemp and 1,200 rebels surrendered, but Maritz escaped to Angola, where he was interned by the Portuguese authorities. All told some 12,000 to 13,000 men were out in rebellion at one time or another, but they were badly horsed and poorly equipped. The Government casualties amounted to 132 killed or died and 242 wounded, while the figures for the rebel forces were somewhat higher. The Government adopted a conciliatory policy in dealing with the rebels. Less than three hundred were tried and of these 170, including de Wet and Kemp, were imprisoned for varying periods, while the others were merely fined. The army officers were court-martialled and the general body of rebels, about 8,000 in number, were disqualified from serving on public bodies or from being employed by Government for ten years. However, in January 1916, de Wet and many others were released on parole and before the end of the year all those still imprisoned were set free, while the civil disabilities were also removed on the signing of peace in Europe in 1919.

South African forces in co-operation with the Royal Navy had occupied the German colonial port of Luderitzbucht early in September, 1914, but then the campaign was interrupted by the outbreak of the rebellion and it was not till November that plans were made to renew hostilities. Early in the following month the only obstacle to an attack on the German colony by sea was removed when Admiral Sturdee destroyed the German squadron under von Spee at the Battle of the Falkland Islands. A fortnight later an expeditionary force escorted by ships of the Royal Navy under Admiral King-Hall sailed for Walvis Bay and General Botha took command with the full confidence of both sections of the European community in South Africa.

German South West Africa had about three-quarters of the area of the Union, but the European population numbered only 15,000 of whom some 6,000 were men of military age. The Union's forces used in the campaign numbered some 43,500 of whom 27,000 were mounted. The Northern Force (21,000) com-

manded by General Botha in person landed at Walvis Bay without opposition on Christmas Day and occupied Swakopmund, which the enemy had deserted. The Central Force at Luderitzbucht was 11,000 strong and commanded by General Sir Duncan Mackenzie. The Southern Force (9000) under Colonel J. van Deventer operated from Upington and the Eastern Force (2500) under Colonel Berrange struck into German territory from Kuruman. By the end of April the whole southern half of the country was cleared and on the 12th May Windhoek surrendered to Botha. The German Governor, Seitz, asked for an armistice and Botha met him and Colonel Franke and demanded the unconditional surrender of the German forces. This the Germans were not prepared to grant and hostilities were resumed, but on the 9th July, 1915, the German troops numbering 3,400 surrendered at Tsumeb in the northern part of their colony and the campaign, which had cost South Africa 113 killed and 311 wounded, was at an end.

In October, 1915, the Imperial Government asked for the assistance of the Union in the conquest of German East Africa and in the following January an expeditionary force left the shores of South Africa. General Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien was on his way to East Africa to take command, but on account of ill-health was obliged to return to England and for the second time General Smuts was asked to take command. With the consent of the Union Cabinet he agreed to do so and was given the rank of Lieutenant-General in the British Army. British East Africa was cleared of the enemy and the invasion of German territory began, but within twelve months Smuts handed over his command to Sir Jacobus van Deventer and left for England (in February, 1917), where he represented the Dominions in the Imperial War Cabinet. By the first months of 1918 the whole of German East Africa was in the hands of the British and South African forces, and the German General, von Lettow, with his remaining forces was driven into Portuguese territory. However, he re-entered the conquered German colony and did not lay down his arms until the signing of the Armistice in November. When the campaign was at its height in 1916, the Union had nearly 50,000 European soldiers serving in East Africa, mostly in terrible country whose climate took a heavy toll of human life and imposed a severe strain on the Army's medical resources. Malaria alone accounted for seventy per cent of all admissions to hospital in 1917.

The Union's war effort was not confined to the African continent, for a large number of South Africans served in Europe

not only with the South African Contingent but also with various British units. By the New Year of 1916 some 7,500 South Africans had gone to Europe on their own, while another 1,200 were serving in Rhodesia and Nyasaland. When the South-West African campaign was drawing to a close, the Union Government offered to equip a full infantry brigade with the necessary auxiliary troops for service in Europe and in August, 1915, nearly 6,000 men under the command of Brigadier-General Henry Lukin left the Union. Having completed their training in England, they were sent to Egypt, where they saw some fighting before being transferred to France. In July, 1916, the South African Brigade was cut to pieces at Delville Wood, which the Brigade succeeded in holding for six days and five nights without reinforcements or relief. There were only 750 survivors out of 3,150. The Brigade, reconstituted and reinforced by 3,000 men, continued to render gallant service until March, 1918, when it was surrounded at Marrieres Wood and, after a magnificent stand under the command of Colonel F. S. Dawson, was compelled to surrender. Its sacrifice was not in vain, for the Brigade helped to save the Allied line at a critical stage of the campaign in France. The Brigade was again reorganized under Brigadier-General Tanner and fought on till the signing of the Armistice. Altogether 31,500 South Africans went to France with the various overseas contingents, and nearly half of them became casualties. Many young men from the Union also joined the Royal Flying Corps in the later stages of the war. Before the conclusion of hostilities almost a third of the South Africans serving in France were of Dutch descent. Field-Marshal Sir Douglas Haig in his Farewell Order to the South African Brigade paid its members, past and present, a well-deserved tribute when he wrote, "They have deserved well of their own great land and of the mighty Empire of which it forms part." The story of these first Springboks to serve overseas has been finely told by John Buchan in his *History of the South African Forces in France*.

During the four years of war South Africa's contribution to the common cause was no small one. The total white manpower of the Union at the time was estimated at 685,000, of whom 136,000 enrolled for military service and of this number 76,000 served outside South Africa. Thus 11% of the total European manpower of the Union served overseas, as compared with 13½% from Canada or Australia and 19% from New Zealand. In addition the Cape Corps, units of which distinguished themselves in General Allenby's advance in Palestine in 1918, had a strength of 30,000, while the Bantu Labour Corps, many of whom also

served overseas, totalled over 60,000. The loss South Africa suffered in the deaths of so many of her sons on the field of battle, though not unduly heavy considering the conditions of modern warfare, nevertheless left the Union immeasurably the poorer. Some 7,000 soldiers were killed in battle or died of wounds or disease, while those wounded numbered over 12,000. The actual cost of the Union's participation in the war was about £30,000,000 and in addition the public subscribed £3,250,000 to the Governor General's War Fund and lesser sums to other war funds.

Botha, who had been unable to leave the Union during the earlier stages of the war, joined Smuts in the Imperial War Cabinet in 1918 and, as representatives of the Union of South Africa, in June, 1919, they signed the Treaty of Versailles and the Covenant of the League of Nations. General Hertzog took a delegation of the Nationalist Party to the Peace Conference to ask for the independence of South Africa as a republic, but the British Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, replied that this was a matter on which the people of the Union must first be agreed. During the war talk of a republic had continued in Nationalist circles and had been strongest when the war was going badly in Europe. Shortly after his return to South Africa, General Botha died (on August 28th, 1919), worn out by the stress of four years of war, and he was succeeded as Prime Minister by General Smuts, while the Union Parliament ratified the Treaty of Versailles and authorized the acceptance of the mandate of South West Africa. The Governor General, Lord Buxton, has written of his friend, Louis Botha, "I have known a good many 'big men' in my time, but I think he was the most human and lovable of them all. . . . His standard of conduct was based on a natural sense of honour, duty and obligation. His integrity and honesty of purpose were patent." The line taken by General Botha during the nine years of his premiership contributed materially to the immediate preservation of the Union of South Africa and to the final building up of a united nation.

It is important to note that the Treaty of Versailles, the first twenty-six articles of which form the Covenant of the League of Nations, was signed not only by the representatives of the United Kingdom, but also by the representatives of the four Dominions and the Empire of India. This and the fact that the Union of South Africa, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and India also became members of the League of Nations separately from Great Britain marked an important advance in their international status, for it showed that besides Great Britain foreign powers were also according them recognition as sovereign states. (In

1933 the Union's representative was President of the League Assembly.) One section of the Covenant contains a definition of the mandates system, which is designed to secure the well-being and development of the Native peoples living in the former German colonies in Africa and the Far East. In May, 1919, the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference gave the control of South-West Africa to the Union as a C Mandate to be administered under South African laws as an integral part of the Union subject to certain safeguards laid down in the Covenant in the interests of the indigenous population. The Union as the mandatory power had to render an annual report on its government of the territory to the Council of the League. This report was examined by the Permanent Mandates Commission appointed by the Council to advise it on all matters relating to the observance of mandates.

Before passing to a consideration of other problems it may be noted that the government of South West Africa was placed at first under an Administrator and a nominated Council of Advice, which in 1926 made way for a Legislative Council of six nominated and twelve elected members. By repatriation the German population was reduced to 8,000, most of whom soon accepted naturalization, while within a short time some 10,000 South Africans went to live in the territory and in 1928 four hundred families of Angola Boers were also settled there. Quite half of the Native population lives right in the northern part of the territory in Ovamboland. In 1922 one of the lesser Native tribes, the Bondelswarts, rebelled and a hundred members of the tribe were killed, when they were attacked from the air by Defence Force aeroplanes. In the Assembly of the League the negro delegate from Haiti, M. Bellegarde, in courteous terms demanded an enquiry into the Union's suppression of the Bondelswarts and South Africa through its representative, Sir Edgar Walton, immediately agreed to the fullest investigation. The outcome was that the Permanent Mandates Commission condemned the actions of the Administration and urged that relief be given to these poverty-stricken people. The whole incident was an example of the effective working of the League at its best.

(C) *Post-War Problems, 1920-1930*

Certain features of the Indian question both in Natal and the Transvaal continued to arouse misgivings in the years following the War. In 1921, as compared with 1,200 in Canada, 3,000 in Australia and 600 in New Zealand, the Indian population of the Union of S. Africa was 166,000 and in Natal it still outnumbered the European population by 5,000 (141,000 to 136,000).

At this time two-thirds of the Indians in the Union were South African born, many being in the fourth generation. In South Africa the Indians with their keen competition in commerce and lower standard of living than most Europeans present a problem in the sphere of retail trade rather than in the labour market. Another commission again assisted by Sir B. Robertson of the Indian Civil Service recommended the encouragement of voluntary repatriation and in this way some 31,000 Indians had left the Union in the ten years ending in 1925. Natal in 1923 forbade Indians to buy or lease municipal land and then deprived them of the municipal franchise, while the Class Areas Bills of 1924 and 1926 attempted to limit them to specific areas throughout the Union. However, the Government of India took up their case and a conference representative of the two governments concerned was held at Cape Town in January, 1927, which, though maintaining the legal *status quo*, recognized the right of the Union Government to maintain Western standards of civilization by just and lawful means and, also, the right of Indians to attain those standards. In November the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, the great Hindu philosopher, statesman and orator, was appointed Agent-General for the Government of India in South Africa. Contact with Mr. Sastri, Sir Kurma Reddi, Kunwar Sir Maharajah Singh and their distinguished successors in office have taught at least some South Africans to realize that the culture they desire to preserve is something quite independent of colour. There are few Indians in the Cape Province, a mere handful in the Free State and a considerable number in the Transvaal, where since republican days they have been forbidden to own fixed property, but this has been evaded, at first by having European trustees and subsequently by forming limited liability companies, which being artificial persons are not subject to racial restrictions. In 1919 the law was amended to stop this course of action, but loopholes remained until 1932, when the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Act prohibited Europeans from holding land in trust for Asiatics, while the holding of land-company shares on behalf of Asiatics was also forbidden. This Act, which was made retrospective only to 1930, also stated that Indians could not occupy land in proclaimed areas, except in the locations and bazaars set aside for them. Since a mining area is a proclaimed area, practically the whole of the Witwatersrand was thus closed to them.

In 1920 there came the almost inevitable slump. Commercial businesses and mining companies were hit hard, the banks reduced credit and there were many bankruptcies. The ostrich feather industry had almost ceased to exist during the war and

the price of diamonds, another luxury, fell to such an extent in the immediate post-war years that the mines at Kimberley had to be closed. In these depressing circumstances the Chamber of Mines took up the question of the colour bar, which was statutory in the Mines and Works Act (1911) and unofficial in the Status Quo Agreement, whereby the Chamber, while refusing to dismiss non-Europeans already engaged in semi-skilled work, undertook not to prejudice the position of European workers further by employing more non-Europeans on this type of work. However, owing to the fall in the price of gold, the Chamber of Mines announced early in December, 1921, that it proposed to give up the costly mining by contract and to use more non-Europeans on semi-skilled work. Then the coal-mining companies tried to cut wages and on the 15th December refused the Government's offer of mediation, which the workers had accepted. The gold-mining companies gave the legal month's notice to terminate the Status Quo Agreement. At the New Year the coal-miners struck, on the 10th January the gold-miners also came out and 20,000 Europeans and 180,000 Natives were idle. The Chamber of Mines proposed that the proportion between European and Native workers should be 1 to 10.5, but the Witwatersrand Federation of Trades suggested that it should be 1 to 3.5 in all industries except agriculture and so the struggle continued causing havoc in the economic life of the country.

In February the Prime Minister, General Smuts, appealed successfully to the Chamber to reopen the mines and the flow back to work steadily grew in volume, while at the end of the month Parliament decided on an impartial inquiry into the points at issue. However, the day before this the men at the Johannesburg Power Station struck. Then the harassed police fired on a truculent crowd at Boksburg. On the 6th March the strike became general and the Council of Action, a small group of Communists affiliated to the Third International, thrust the Federation of Trades aside and let loose its fighting men. By the 10th fighting had become general and most of the Witwatersrand was in the hands of the revolutionaries for a few days. Fortunately despite numerous provocations the Natives remained quiet. The Active Citizen Force regiments and the commandos from the country districts were called up and Smuts dashed up from Cape Town by special train to take charge of the military operations. With the use of aeroplanes and field artillery the strikers' centre of resistance at Fordsburg, a suburb of Johannesburg, was soon stormed. The desperate struggle was all over

by the 15th, but the number of men killed was twice that lost in the campaign in South West Africa.

The Federation called the strike off and the Miners' Union disowned the revolutionaries. It would not be fair to blame communism for all that happened on the Rand in March, 1922, for the lawless elements ran amok and much of the quite pointless vandalism that took place was the work of criminal elements in the population. The Government appointed a commission to investigate the causes of the outbreak and a board to recommend future policy towards the mines. It became clear that the fullest possible white employment could best be achieved through wise economy and that the chief problem of the industry was to make low-grade ore payable. Hertzog announced that the Nationalists would work in conjunction with the Labour Party at the next election, as both were opposed to immigration from overseas and had similar views on the maintenance of a rigid colour bar in industry, which they put into effect on coming into power by the Colour Bar Bill, which was passed at a joint session in 1926 after having been rejected by the Senate. It closed many avenues of employment in skilled and semi-skilled trades to both the Bantu and Asiatics.

In the war-time elections held in October, 1915, the Unionist Party defeated Labour in the towns, while the Nationalist Party won considerable support in the rural constituencies, especially in the Free State, and was the real Opposition to the Government Party, which was dependent upon the support of Sir Thomas Smartt's Unionists, the second largest party in the House of Assembly. However, in the elections held in March, 1920, as a result of the increase in the cost of living and other grievances that had arisen during the war, Labour swept the towns and the Nationalists won several more seats from the S.A. Party. Consequently at the end of the year the Unionists joined an enlarged S.A. Party and three of their members, Sir Thomas Smartt, Mr. J. W. Jagger and Mr. Patrick Duncan, entered the Cabinet. The life of the first Senate expired and the Assembly was also dissolved, another general election being held in February, 1921, on the issue raised by the amalgamation of the two parties, as a result of which the Labour Party lost heavily and the South African Party, composed of Afrikaans and English-speaking South Africans, had a majority of 22 over all other parties.

However, following on the labour troubles of 1922, the loss of a test bye-election sent the Smuts Ministry to the country again in April, 1924, and resulted in a majority of 27 for the Nationalist-Labour Pact. Colonel F. H. P. Cresswell and Mr. T. Boydell joined General Hertzog's Cabinet and the next year an eleventh

portfolio was created and given to Mr. W. Madeley. Thus Britons and Afrikaners sat together on either side of the House and the old racial divisions appeared to have been replaced by new divisions drawn on economic lines. The Labour Party and the Nationalists had been drawn together by the fact that large numbers of Afrikaners were obtaining employment on the mines. Moreover, the leaders of both parties believed that their former differences counted for little as compared with the relations of White South Africa and the non-European sections of the population. Consequently, the Nationalists being dependent on the support of Labour for their majority in the Assembly dropped the republican issue and the Pact Ministry addressed itself to the reconsideration of economic problems, the enhancement of the Union's international status and the Native Question. The new Government was fortunate, for the long drought was broken by the rainy season of 1924-1925 and good times, in which agricultural prices remained high and constant, continued for half-a-dozen years.

The whole economic edifice of the Union rests on the foundation of the gold-mining industry of the Transvaal, which is the life-blood of the nation, for quite half of the inhabitants of the country obtain their livelihood directly or indirectly from the gold industry from which 50% of the finances of government are also derived. More than half the Union's exports are provided by the gold mines, which also subsidize the transport system and the agricultural industry, for the rail charges both on coal carried for the mines and on mining machinery are higher than on coal transported for other purposes and on agricultural implements. The industry is highly organized, for the various companies formed themselves into groups which in their turn set up the Chamber of Mines, which works in close co-operation with such bodies as the Native Recruiting Corporation, the Institute of Medical Research and the Miners' Phthisis Board. Gold is mined at great depths and shafts are sunk well below sea-level to a depth of 7,000 feet. At these depths working costs rise, so that the great problem of the gold industry is the reduction of working costs, so that low-grade ore can be mined profitably. Cheap Native labour is the essential prop of the industry and makes the high wages of the European employee possible. (In 1936 the average of European earnings in the industry was £345 : 9 : 2 and of the non-Europeans £31 : 13 : 2 per annum. In this year there were 47,000 Europeans as compared with 394,000 non-Europeans employed in the entire industry.) In 1925 South Africa was restored to the gold standard and one of the con-

sequences was a rise in the price of diamonds, while the Government was fortunate in that a diamond field was discovered on State-owned land in Namaqualand. South African coal is of mediocre quality and widely distributed, but the deposits at Witbank and near Newcastle made possible the working of the gold mines of the Witwatersrand. There are large deposits of iron in the Transvaal and in 1928 the Iron and Steel Corporation (IsCOR) was constituted by the Government to develop the iron and steel industry.

Before the Great War South African exports were almost entirely primary, but after the signing of peace the Government proposed to encourage secondary industries, which had developed first in the war years, when little could be imported, and also determined to build up an export trade, for example in fruit and maize. The chief obstacles to the growth of secondary industries in the Union were the low standard of productivity of the unskilled labour, the high level of wages set by the mines for skilled workers and the limited home market, which could be overcome only by increasing the purchasing power and wants of the Bantu. In fact, not only will the Europeans gain rather than lose by the economic progress of the Natives, but the whole economic prosperity of the country depends upon their progress for it is vital to establish secondary industries in the Union against the day when the production of gold will decline. It is essential, too, to provide more opportunities for the economic employment of unskilled and semi-skilled Europeans. Thus the policy of still more strictly protecting South African industries begun by the Smuts Ministry was continued by its successors in office. They also carried on the policy of encouraging and controlling exports by means of sundry Marketing and Control Boards. Customs duties had been imposed in the past mainly for purposes of revenue, but in 1925 a frankly protective tariff was adopted in favour of secondary industries employing a high proportion of European labour.

Though just under half of the total production of the Union is accounted for by agriculture, South Africa is not really an agricultural country, for it has relatively few favoured areas and the methods of farming are often wasteful, as a result of lack of capital, the backwardness of the farming community which clings to the traditions of the past and the employment of inefficient Bantu labour. The gold industry has long been used by the State to provide money for agricultural development. The Land Bank was established in 1912 to make first mortgage loans to farmers and to advance money for fencing and other improve-

ments. Despite numerous irrigation acts, the irrigable area of the Union is still less than 1% of the whole, while land settlement schemes have also had little effect, for the yearly average of settlers placed on the land in the twenty-six years after Union was 700, but in the same period the number that left the land for the towns was much greater. The building of branch railway lines and the opening of road motor services, which in 1936 had a greater mileage than the railways (then 13,000 miles in length), have probably done more to open up agricultural areas than either irrigation or settlement schemes. About 85% of the surface of the Union is fit only for pasture and 15% may be reckoned as arable, though only about 4% is being cultivated. In large parts of South Africa a long, dry season alternates with rains, which are very often torrential downpours, which run off the hard-baked earth and set soil erosion in motion. This is a very real menace in the Union and it is intensified by the overstocking common to the crowded native reserves.

Partly as a result of the work of the Institute of Veterinary Research at Onderstepoort, which is recognized as the central link in the chain of Empire research stations, livestock farming, especially in Afrikaner cattle, is increasing in importance in the Union despite setbacks due to cattle diseases. Pigs are reared in sufficient numbers to satisfy the requirements of the local market. Dairying has improved vastly and eggs have been exported in large quantities. Sheep-breeding on the Karoo and in the Eastern Cape Province is an important branch of the farming industry and between 1910 and 1938 wool, the oldest export of South Africa, along with gold and diamonds consistently accounted for 80% of the total export trade of the Union. The real tragedy of South African farming has been the ostrich industry, which was killed by the war of 1914-1919. The year before the war broke out, when there were 776,000 ostriches in the Union, the feathers exported were valued at £3,000,000. Eighteen years later there were only 32,000 birds and the value of the industry's exports had fallen to £44,000.

The chief single crop of the Union is maize, which grows in summer anywhere inside the 24 inch rainfall limit. Wheat and the vine do well in the South-Western Cape, where winter rains are plentiful. In the period 1910 to 1937 the exportation of wine and brandy increased twentyfold, while in the same period the value of citrus, grapes, peaches and other fresh fruit exported rose from £46,000 in 1910 to £3,320,000 in 1937. In the Palm Belt of Natal sugar, which is subsidized at the expense of the local consumer, and tropical fruits do very well.

After this digression on the general economic state of the Union in recent years, consideration must be given to the policy of the Pact Government in regard to constitutional matters. The year 1926 is noteworthy in the constitutional history of the Union. In the first place the Senate Act amended the South Africa Act by declaring that the eight nominated senators formerly entitled to hold their seats for ten years must also vacate them along with the elected senators at future dissolutions and that they must also do so on a change in the Premiership taking place. The Senate may be dissolved with the Assembly or within 120 days of a dissolution of the lower house. In the same year the Nationality and Flag Bill was passed. Union Nationals were also to be British subjects, "a smaller circle within a larger one" to quote Dr. D. F. Malan, then Minister of the Interior. After some controversy and as a result of unofficial negotiations involving the Governor-General, the Earl of Athlone, and the Senate, two flags were adopted—the flag of the Union of South Africa was to be the orange, white and blue of the House of Orange with the old Republican flags and the Union Jack superimposed on the white strip; and also the Union Jack, which was to be flown at certain places. Also in 1926 General Hertzog represented the Union at the Imperial Conference of Dominion Premiers held in London. Similar Conferences held in 1921 and 1923 had been concerned chiefly with questions of foreign policy and the powers of the Dominions to arrange treaties with foreign powers, but the Conference of 1926 devoted its attention to the constitutional relationships of the Dominions with each other and with Great Britain. The Conference accepted unanimously the Inter-Imperial Relations Report, which merely recorded a stage of evolution reached some years previously, by defining the Dominions as "autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations." General Hertzog expressed himself as well pleased with this declaration, which he said made the Union master of its own destiny. Before the Conference the British Government had set up a Dominions Office quite distinct from the Colonial Office, and on his return to South Africa General Hertzog created the Portfolio of External Affairs to be held by the Prime Minister; before long the Union appointed Ministers Plenipotentiary to Rome, Washington and The Hague and, in 1933, to Berlin and Paris.

Mr. L. S. Amery, the first Secretary for Dominion Affairs, visited South Africa in 1927 and enlightened the Union on its status as a Dominion in view of the Report of the Imperial Conference, which had declared: "The British Empire is not founded upon negations. It depends essentially, if not formally, on positive ideals. Free institutions are its life blood. Free co-operation is its instrument." The Dominions Secretary in his public speeches emphasized that Great Britain and the Dominions by virtue of their loyalty to a common Crown were a partnership of self-dependent nations under an obligation to support and co-operate with each other. Having special relations with each other, they differed from states like France or Holland, but even Great Britain was limited in this special way, for the succession to the Throne could be altered only by agreement of all the Dominions. Mr. Amery, looking back on the completion of a century of the building up of freedom, looked forward to a century of effective co-operation in the development of trade and security as well as in the things of the spirit, since the Commonwealth was held together not only by loyalty to the King but also by community of ideals and interests.

The Imperial Conference which met towards the end of 1930, in carrying the work of the previous conference to its logical conclusion, decided that in future the Governor General of a Dominion was to be the personal representative of the King and not also the representative of the British Government. He was to be appointed by the King on the advice of the Dominion Cabinet concerned. Thus the Earl of Clarendon was appointed Governor General of the Union in 1931 on the conclusion of Lord Athlone's second term of office, while Sir Herbert Stanley became High Commissioner in the Union of S. Africa for H.M. Government in the United Kingdom, just as the Union was similarly represented in London by its own High Commissioner. Sir Herbert was also High Commissioner for Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland. Another result of this Conference was the passing of the Statute of Westminster by the British Parliament in 1931, which made the Balfour Declaration on Dominion status a law of the British Parliament and repealed the Colonial Laws Validity Act of 1865 insofar as it might affect the legislation of Dominion Parliaments. This Act required that laws of a Colonial Parliament should not conflict with the legislation of the Parliament of the United Kingdom. The Statute of Westminster recognized formally the legislative independence of the five Dominions, which had existed in actual practice for many years, and thus set the seal on their international status. In the same year the Union came of age.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

STORM CLOUDS AGAIN, 1931-1939

(A) *Another Depression, 1931-1934*

In the elections held in the Union in 1929 the Nationalists basing their election campaign on a White South Africa programme obtained a clear majority in the House of Assembly. Labour suffered a set back, but the South African Party held its own. In terms of the Senate Act a new Upper House was chosen at the same time. The second Hertzog Ministry spent its whole career wrestling with the great depression which began with the financial crisis in the U.S.A. in October, 1929, and soon engulfed the whole world. In South Africa it coincided with the longest drought since the 'sixties, while foot and mouth disease broke out amongst the cattle. The farming community was hard hit, as the prices of maize, wool and other commodities fell heavily. The price of diamonds again collapsed and the Premier Mine near Pretoria was closed. In September, 1931, Britain abandoned the gold standard, but the Union tried to maintain it, as many supporters of the Government wished to demonstrate that South Africa was economically independent of Great Britain. The stubborn refusal of the Government to abandon the gold standard prevented local prices from adjusting themselves to world levels and caused a flight of capital from the Union. At the Imperial Economic Conference held in Ottawa in July, 1932, prior to the World Economic Conference the next year, Mr. Havenga, the Minister of Finance, obtained substantial advantages for South Africa in Commonwealth markets, but in the Union itself the financial situation continued to grow worse and business came almost to a standstill.

*In Europe the situation gradually improved, but in South Africa the maintenance of the gold standard had become a matter of party politics. The depression gradually undermined the Nationalist Government and caused dissension in the ranks of both the Government and Opposition supporters. Mr. Tielman Roos, a former Nationalist Cabinet Minister, who had been appointed to the Appellate Bench a few years before, resigned his judgeship on 21st December, 1932, and called for the formation of a non-racial National Government and the abandonment of the gold standard. The response was immediate and within

ten days the Union had gone off gold. Money again flowed back to South Africa and the gold-mining industry recovered, as it was again possible to mine the lower grade of ore and make a profit. In March, 1933, Hertzog and Smuts formed a Coalition Government of six Nationalists and six members of the S.A. Party to deal with the pressing internal problems that required attention, for the recent census showed a marked drift of the rural population to the towns, the Native Economic Commission reported the Natives were becoming poorer and the Poor White Commission found that a fifth of the European population could be classed as Poor Whites.

The elections in May, 1933, based on an enlarged electorate gave the Coalition Ministry an overwhelming majority. In 1930 European women had been given the franchise, while the next year European men were relieved of the educational and financial restrictions still attaching to the franchise in the Cape and Natal. The number of European voters was doubled while the value of the Coloured franchise was then reduced. In 1932 there were 850,000 Europeans on the voters' roll and only 39,000 Cape Coloured People, Asiatics and Bantu, all but 300 of whom lived in the Cape Province. There was soon dissension in the Government. Dr. D. F. Malan from the Nationalist side condemned the fusion of the two parties as truckling to Imperialism and Capitalism, while Colonel C. F. Stallard of the S.A. Party held that the Government's new taxation endangered the gold industry. In 1934 the supporters of Malan withdrew to form a purified Nationalist Party, which became the official Opposition, while the Stallard group became the Dominion Party; but four-fifths of the House remained in the United Party with General Hertzog as Prime Minister and General Smuts as Deputy Premier. From the beginning the solidarity of the new Cabinet, whose two leaders differed on important matters, was strained by personal antipathies and its long life was due rather to the return of good times, consequent upon the revival of the gold industry, the development of secondary industries, the building boom in the towns and repeated Government and Railway surpluses, than to any real unity within itself.

[The constitutional position of the Union was further clarified by the Status of the Union Act and the Union Constitutional Act both passed by the Union Parliament in 1934.] The former made the relevant sections of the Statute of Westminster the law of the Union and also made certain amendments to the South Africa Act of 1909, which was made a law of the Parliament of the Union by the second of these Acts, while a third constitutional

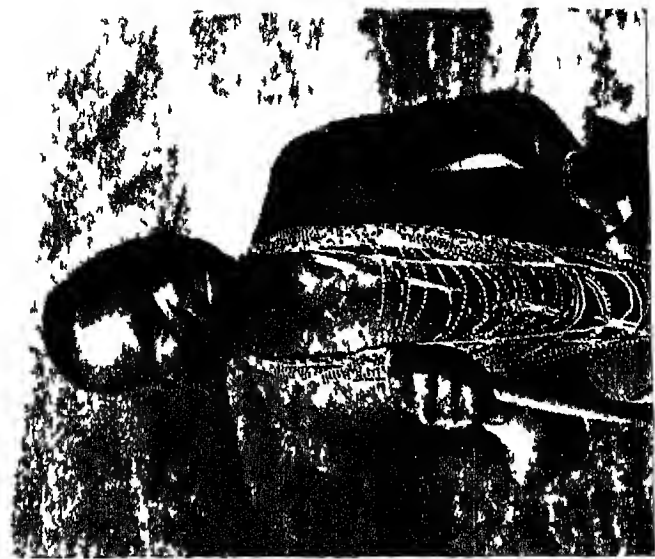


[Photograph by W. E. Davies.]

GENERAL J. C. SMUTS.—Table Mountain, 1938



[Reproduced by permission of Dr. F. Drew e
A PONDO CHIEF —An enlightened Christian Chief



[Reproduced by permission of Dr. F. Drew e
A PONDO TRIBESMAN

act passed at this time regulated the use of the Royal Great Seal of the Union. It may be noted that in 1937 the King appointed as Governor General Sir Patrick Duncan, one of Lord Milner's Kindergarten, who had long been prominent in South African affairs and was a Cabinet Minister at the time when his appointment was announced. At the end of the previous year the Union Parliament had passed its own act in connection with the abdication of King Edward VIII, while the special status of the Dominions was also reflected in the Coronation Oath of King George VI. At the Imperial Conference held at the time of the Coronation in 1937 a British subject was defined as "a subject of the King in whatever part of the Empire he might live."

(B) The Union's Neighbours

During the years between the two World Wars the Union's relations with neighbouring states became closer with the development of communications by land and air between the Union and her neighbours, Portuguese East Africa, the Rhodesias and the High Commission Territories. At the beginning of the century Lord Milner had concluded a *modus vivendi* agreement with the Portuguese authorities guaranteeing to the Delagoa Bay railway the same proportion of the Transvaal traffic as it had enjoyed in the time of the Republican Government, in return for facilities in the recruiting of Mozambique Natives for service in the gold mines. In 1909 the Transvaal Government modified this by the Mozambique Convention, which was revised by the Union and Portuguese Governments in 1928. There were 89,000 Natives from Portuguese East Africa employed on the gold mines in 1936 out of a total of 340,000.

As a result of the reports of Sir Alan Pim on Swaziland (1932), Bechuanaland (1932) and Basutoland (1935), the Imperial Government began to give greater financial aid to these territories, which in view of their close proximity to the Union were controlled by the Dominions Office through the High Commissioner and not by the Colonial Office. In 1933 the authorities deposed Tshekedi Khama, the Acting Chief of the Bamangwato tribe in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, for exceeding his powers, and soon afterwards General Hertzog broached the question of the transfer of the three territories to the Union. The British Government as trustee for the Native peoples was not prepared to assent to this request, but agreed to work in co-operation with South African officials until the acquiescence of the peoples concerned could be obtained in their transfer to the control of the Union of South Africa. In the meantime the Imperial Government has

continued its policy of aiding the development of the Territories financially, while official co-operation with the South African Government has also been maintained despite the fact that the Native population has been somewhat suspicious of the Union's desire to obtain control of the three states. In Basutoland amidst the Native population of 560,000 there are less than 1,600 Europeans, all officials, missionaries, traders or labour agents. Bechuanaland has a European population of about 2,000, who own small areas of land, and a Native population of 260,000. In Swaziland the 2,700 Europeans own about two-thirds of the land and the 153,000 Natives the other third. (The figures are those for 1936).

The Colony of Southern Rhodesia with its European population of 50,000, of whom, perhaps, a sixth are of Afrikaner origin; Northern Rhodesia, which the Crown took over from the Chartered Company in 1924 and whose copper industry is largely controlled from Johannesburg; Nyasaland and, farther afield, Tanganyika and Kenya have not only been partly settled by South Africans, but also in recent years have been administered in part by officials with previous experience gained in the Union. Though there has been talk of the amalgamation of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland, Lord Bledisloe's Commission of 1938 reported that immediate federation was out of the question on account of the small white population and differing Native policies in the territories north and south of the Zambesi River. In all probability the relationship of the states north of the Zambesi with the Union will be one merely of co-operative endeavour in their development, since Central Africa is not likely to be a "White man's country" in the same sense as the Union. Nevertheless, in 1935 as the leading African Power the Union summoned two Pan-African Conferences, which were also attended by representatives of the Belgian Congo and the Portuguese colonies. The first discussed questions of health and the second posts, telegraphs and radio. The next year, on the occasion of the Empire Exhibition in Johannesburg, a Pan-African Conference on transport accepted the Union's railway gauge (3 ft. 6 ins.) as the standard for the Continent and agreed to co-ordinate the railways, roads and air routes of the several states.

(C) *Native Policy*

At long last General Hertzog's Native policy was put into effect in 1936. As far back as the end of 1925 the Premier had outlined his main segregation proposals and the following year he presented four bills to Parliament, which raised the coloured question in all its ramifications except its Asiatic aspects. These

four bills were the Representation of Natives Bill, the Native Council Bill, the Native Land Bill and the Coloured Persons Rights Bill, which were then referred to a Select Committee which had them under consideration for over two years. In the meantime in 1927 the Native Administration Act gave the Governor General as Supreme Chief wide powers over Natives in the Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal. It regularized the position of Chiefs and headmen and their courts, recognized Native law (for example in regard to *lobola*) and established two Native Appeal Courts. It also gave the authorities power to remove from the scene of their activities anyone who promoted hostility between Europeans and non-Europeans.

- (Then in 1929 General Hertzog introduced the Native Franchise Bill and the Coloured Persons Rights Bill at a joint session of the Senate and Assembly. The former proposed to deprive the Bantu in the Cape Province of the franchise and give the vote to Bantu chiefs, headmen and councillors everywhere in the Union, but, as it did not secure the requisite two-thirds majority in terms of the South Africa Act, the allied bill was also withdrawn. In 1930 the Premier referred his four bills to a Select Committee of the two Houses, which did not report until May, 1935. The Committee itself was divided in opinion, for three members of the Cabinet, Smuts, Hofmeyr and Stuttaford, and also Senator F. S. Malan voted with the minority against a clause, which proposed to exclude the Bantu entirely from the parliamentary voters' roll in the future. Their report made no mention of the Cape Coloured People and reduced the other three bills to two, namely the Native Trust and Lands Bill and the Native Representation Bill, but no change was made in the principle of the original bills.

In the former bill the Governor General was made trustee of a fund to acquire and develop land for Native settlement on the advice of a board in each Province. The Trust, which is mainly dependent on parliamentary grants, was given authority to acquire up to 7,250,000 morgen in released areas to add to the 10,500,000 morgen in the areas scheduled in the 1913 Natives Land Act. This would then give the Bantu approximately 12% of the area of the Union. (The bill also aimed at controlling Natives on European-owned land by the introduction of a licence of £5 per year for each squatter and by the limitation of the number of labour tenants by local control boards.) Natives who were not licensed squatters, authorized labour tenants, domestic servants, ministers or teachers, were to be placed by the Native Affairs Department in Native areas, while Europeans in

these areas were to be restricted to those holding a licence issued under the authority of the Minister of Native Affairs.

The proposals of the Report on the second bill were opposed by many Europeans and educated Bantu and, moreover, since their adoption would probably have led to a split in the Cabinet the bill was revised and so the Representation of Natives Bill left the Cape Bantu (about 11,000) with the cherished individual vote, but they were placed on a separate voters' roll to elect three additional members of the House of Assembly and two additional members of the Cape Provincial Council, all of whom were to be Europeans and to be elected at special elections held every five years. The bill gave the vote to some 1,700 salaried chiefs and also to members of local councils and advisory and reserve boards, many of whom were nominated to these bodies by Europeans. The Union was divided into four large constituencies, the Transkei, the rest of the Cape Province, Natal and lastly the Transvaal and Free State combined, each of which was to elect a European member of the Senate to sit for five years. In the case of the Transkei he was to be elected by the United Transkeian General Council (The Bunga) and in the other three areas by the groups mentioned above. Each voting unit was to have as many votes as there were Native taxpayers in its area and its votes were to be cast *en bloc*. Then the bill established the Native Representative Council, consisting of 22 members under the Chairmanship of the Secretary for Native Affairs, who was given a casting vote. The Government was to nominate six European officials without the power to vote, and four Native members to the Council, the other twelve Native members being elected for five years to represent the four large constituencies also represented in the Senate. Except in the case of the Transkei one of the three elected members from each area was to be an urban representative elected by the location advisory boards. The Council was given powers that were purely advisory, though Ministers had to refer to it projected legislation affecting the Native populace and the Minister of Finance had to submit to it expenditure concerning Native welfare and betterment schemes.

The Representation of Natives Bill was carried on the 6th April, 1936, at a joint session by 169 votes to 11, the minority including the Minister of the Interior, the Hon. J. H. Hofmeyr, and Senator F. S. Malan. The Minister opposed the bill on the grounds that the Cape Bantu were losing franchise rights that they had exercised and not abused for more than eighty years in exchange for what were obviously inferior and qualified rights. He also protested against the principle of the communal repre-

sentation of different races, which emphasized the cleavage between White and Black, and urged that it was essential to think of the South African community as a whole. The ideal was a common franchise open to all civilized men irrespective of colour, whereas the bill implied a difference of interest and the existence of hostility between the races. In addition it might be said that another weakness of the bill was that it paid little regard to the emancipated urban Natives and none to the 2,500,000 Bantu dispersed in European rural areas.

The Trust and Lands Bill was carried without difficulty and the Trust was promised £10,000,000 spread over a period of five years. This bill also superseded the Native Service Contract Act of 1932 by extending its provisions to the whole Union. By the earlier act Bantu squatters in proclaimed areas of Natal and the Transvaal could be drafted to reserves or turned into labour tenants to work for 90 to 180 days, but since no districts were proclaimed it had never been effective.

Then the Premier carried his third Native measure, the Native Law Amendment Act, in 1937, which stated that urban Natives could be sent to reserves and could be refused passes to seek work in towns, thus making effective the Urban Areas Act of 1923, which had laid down a uniform pass law outside the Cape Province and empowered town councils to set aside locations for Natives. A similar act in 1930 had further curtailed the right of the Bantu to enter urban areas. Though these acts improved conditions in the locations, they also discouraged the flow of Bantu labour to the towns and so reduced their competition in the labour market.

In December, 1937, the first meeting of the Native Representative Council was held and in February, 1938, the senators and members of the House of Assembly, all of whom were well chosen by the Bantu electorate, took their seats in Parliament. The legislation of 1936 made no alteration in the rights of the Cape Coloured People, who in that year numbered 768,000 (of whom nearly 90% lived in the Cape Province); though in the next year a Commission, which included an able Moslem, said that the Coloured People were a forgotten people who in view of their origin should be classed with the Europeans and be given the franchise throughout the Union on attaining the Cape qualifications as defined in 1892.

(D) The Coming of War, 1939

Events in Germany early in 1933, when Hitler and the Nazi Party came to power, led to the formation of an active

German Party in South West Africa, while the Union Nationals there requested that this mandated territory be made a fifth province of the Union. Meanwhile the Administration banned the Hitler Youth and other Nazi organizations in the territory. In March, 1936, following on Italy's triumphant defiance of the League of Nations in Abyssinia, Hitler in demanding the return of the German colonies lost in the Great War put this colonial problem in the forefront of his political programme. [The Union Government announced that it was not prepared to discuss the transfer of S.W. Africa to any other power and at the end of 1937 again declared that it would not give the territory back to Germany. In March of the next year the German Government repeated its demand for the restoration of the former German colonies and this challenge influenced the result of the South African elections in May, when the United Party, successful beyond all expectations, obtained 111 seats to the 27 won by the Nationalists. However, there was soon a Cabinet crisis. One of Hertzog's followers in the Fusion Cabinet, A. J. P. Fourie, had lost his seat in the election and the Premier, failing to secure him another, nominated him as one of the senators having a special knowledge of Native affairs. Since Mr. Fourie did not possess these qualifications both Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr and Mr. F. C. Sturrock regarded the appointment as a matter of principle and resigned from the Cabinet. The next day Mr. Fourie became Minister of Commerce and Industries.

In the same month of September there was a major diplomatic crisis in Europe about the future of the Republic of Czecho-Slovakia. This trouble was settled by the Munich Agreement, the signing of which was welcomed thankfully and hopefully in the Union as in most other parts of the world. [However, the German population in S.W. Africa became increasingly militant] and then in March, 1939, Germany annexed Czecho-Slovakia outright.

Towards the middle of August the Law Advisers of the Union Government realized that the life of the Senate would expire in a few weeks and that, unless Parliament met to pass a law prolonging the life of the upper house, no legislation passed by the House of Assembly alone would be valid. The Premier reluctantly summoned both houses for a brief three-day session to remedy this technical defect. On Friday, the 1st September, Germany invaded Poland. The next morning the South African Parliament met and thus General Hertzog's plan to keep the Union neutral without the consent of Parliament being obtained was frustrated. At this formal meeting the Prime

Minister promised to make a definite pronouncement on the European situation on the Monday. On the Saturday afternoon a Cabinet meeting was held at Groote Schuur, the official residence of the Premier, who addressed the gathering for nearly three hours. The burden of his speech was that the Union should fulfil its obligations to the League of Nations and to the British Commonwealth, even to defending Simonstown in the event of an attack, in fulfilment of the Smuts-Churchill Agreement of 1921, which had guaranteed to His Majesty's Ships the use of Simonstown at all times under the protection of the Union's coastal batteries; but that the Union, none the less, should remain neutral. In other words General Hertzog and the five Ministers who supported him wished the Union to continue on its way as if no war was in fact being fought in Europe. The meeting adjourned to Sunday afternoon without a decision being taken. However, on Saturday evening General Smuts and his six supporters in the Cabinet decided that should the Premier insist on his policy of neutrality they would bring the question before Parliament without delay. At the meeting of the Cabinet held on Sunday, the 3rd September, after the news of the declaration of war by Great Britain and France had been received, General Hertzog again spoke at great length in favour of neutrality. Then General Smuts explained why he believed South Africa should sever relations with Germany, stand by Great Britain and co-operate with the allies. He held that the Polish Question, which Hertzog persisted in regarding as a purely local problem in Eastern Europe, was in reality a threat to the security of the whole world. Finally, Smuts said he proposed to take the matter to the House and the Fusion Ministry broke up after a troubled existence of over six years.

At the time there were in Cape Town 147 members of the House of Assembly (104 United Party, 29 Nationalists, 7 Dominion Party, 4 Labour Party and 3 Native Representatives) and, though 66 of the United Party were followers of Smuts, the Premier seemed to think he could obtain a majority for his Neutrality Resolution. Parliament met on the morning of Monday, the 4th September, and soon disposed of the bill to extend the life of the Senate. Then in speaking to his resolution in favour of neutrality General Hertzog repeated the arguments he had used at the meetings of the Cabinet over the week-end. General Smuts then put his counter-resolution in a forceful and powerful speech. The debate continued until nine in the evening and then the bells rang for the most dramatic division ever

taken in the Union Parliament. The Premier's policy of neutrality was defeated by 80 votes to 67, a result that owed something to his own defence of Hitler's policy in Poland.

(The Prime Minister then asked the Governor-General for a dissolution, which His Excellency refused, as he had the constitutional right to do. General Hertzog then resigned and Sir Patrick Duncan sent for General Smuts to form a Government. On the 5th September the German Minister, having received his passports, left for Lourenço Marques and the Union of South Africa and Germany were at war. The following day the new Cabinet was completed. Besides General Smuts and ten other members of the United Party it contained the leaders of the Dominion and Labour Parties. The New Government had a majority of seventeen in the Assembly and before long eight in the reconstituted Senate.

(Thus did the Union of South Africa range herself at the side of Great Britain and her sister Dominions in the British Commonwealth of Nations in defence of the democratic way of life and for the second time in twenty-five years go to war against Germany and the forces of evil for which she stood in 1939 as in 1914. Thus in the spirit of a nation, which, having done great things for nigh on thirty years, desired to do more of them in a great and noble cause, did the Government and people of the Union of South Africa again take up the sword for freedom, justice and tolerance in a world at war.) ✓

CHAPTER NINETEEN

NATIONAL PROBLEMS—POOR BLACKS AND POOR WHITES

(A) *Poor Blacks*

In a short chapter on the so-called Native question it is not possible to do more than suggest certain lines of thought on some of the many aspects of the problem as it concerns the Union of South Africa to-day. The origin of the question has been discussed in previous chapters of this book in which it has been shown that from the very beginning the problem was one of land. The Europeans and Bantu first came into conflict in the region of the Fish River towards the end of the eighteenth century, and until the close of the Seventh Kaffir War in 1847 the relationship between the Cape Government and the independent Bantu chiefs remained largely a question of foreign policy. However, in the second half of the nineteenth century the Cape authorities gradually conquered the Xosa tribes living beyond the eastern frontier of the Colony and with the exception of the Transkeian territories most of their tribal lands were opened up to European settlement with the result that in the Cape Province the existing reserves are quite inadequate for the needs of the Bantu people.

Meanwhile in the thirty or so years after the beginning of the Great Trek the Voortrekkers crushed the Bantu in the interior of southern Africa and dispossessed them of most of their lands, so that in the Orange Free State, the Transvaal and even Natal, where much of Zululand is European-owned, the reserves are also inadequate to meet the requirements of the Native people. Basutoland, considerably reduced in area, has survived as an overcrowded reserve under the British Government; of the other non-Union territories, Swaziland is largely in European ownership and the Bechuanaland Protectorate is almost entirely desert and thus can support only a meagre population. The result is that in the Union perhaps only half of the Bantu population have homes of their own in the existing reserves and on Crown lands.

In previous chapters it has been shown that with the slaves and the Hottentots in the old Cape Colony the missionaries got some of their policy carried through and the position of the Cape Coloured People gives little cause for anxiety at the present

time. On the other hand the local authorities and inhabitants, Briton and Boer alike, had their way with the Bantu and it is these tribes that are now so completely landless and constitute such a formidable problem. With them may it not be said that "the policy for the future is to be judged according as it stands by those principles of freedom, which have been tried in some measure in the past and have not been found wanting"?

✓ { The policy of segregation has been defined as "allotting to the Natives, as far as possible, certain areas in which, separated from the Whites, but under White control, they may gradually in all repose and by employing our civilization form a civilization of their own in harmony with their own capabilities." Though total segregation is obviously impossible and also undesirable, the cure for South Africa's economic ills rests in the provision of still more land for the Natives than that laid down in the Native Trust and Lands Act of 1936) (discussed in the previous chapter). Even after the provisions of this Act have been fully implemented little more than an eighth of the area of the Union will be in the occupation of the Bantu, who form two-thirds of the population. Putting the facts in another way the land held by the Europeans per head of population in the Union is fifty times that held by the Bantu per head, although the Bantu outnumber the Europeans by three to one. The density of the population in the Union as a whole is 14.6 per square mile, while the density of the population in the reserves varies from 40 to 150 per square mile, being about 60 in the Transkei.

Sir Godfrey Lagden's Native Affairs Commission (1903-1905) made the first attempt to deal with the problem on a South African scale, for the Commission, realizing that the question of land was the root of the matter and that insecurity of tenure was the chief trouble, recommended the extension of the Glen Grey system of individual tenure to specified areas. ✓ However, there were few tangible results until the Natives' Land Act of 1913, which forbade Natives and Europeans to purchase land in each other's areas, took steps to remove rent-paying Bantu squatters on European's farms and promised the Natives more land. Although a commission was appointed to mark out additional areas, little was done to put its report into effect until the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936 gave the Government authority to acquire up to 7,250,000 morgen of land in certain released areas to add to the 10,500,000 morgen in the existing area scheduled in the 1913 Act.

✓ (The basic principle of separate areas is undoubtedly sound and a solid gain to the Natives, for it is true to say that "given free right of entry of whites into native lands, the native will presently be landless.") A really generous attempt to meet Bantu aspirations above all in this matter of land is the only hope for European prosperity in South Africa. That so little was done until 1936 to solve the land problem has been due to the selfishness and shortsightedness of the European community, as illustrated by the following quotation from the report of the Natal Natives Land Commission (1918): "The Europeans particularly objected to any good land being included in the recommended Native areas. The fact that any portion of the recommended areas was good either for agricultural or pastoral purposes was advanced by them as a sufficient argument for its exclusion. . . . At the meeting the Nondweni farmers urged that their land be taken into Native areas on an exchange basis. They represented that on account of the pooriness of the soil it was only fit for Natives." It may be noted that the economic ill-health of the European rural population is due in part to the fact that it has too much land for efficiency. This is the peculiar disease of European farming in South Africa and yet there is strong opposition to giving more land to the Bantu.

✓ [Complete segregation, territorial, political and industrial, is advocated by some, because of their fear that the Bantu will swamp us unless we segregate them. On the other hand it has been opposed on the grounds that it would mean the revival of the national sentiment of the Bantu and would enable them to organize more effectively against the Europeans.] It has also been asserted that, as polygamy would flourish again, their numbers would increase. All of these specious arguments contain an element of fear. At this stage in the Union's development complete segregation is obviously impossible of attainment. It is also undesirable, for the prosperity of the white race is bound up with the progress of the black. The only way of advance for White and Black alike is to promote the general economic progress of the whole population and to this end associate in full political control some chosen spokesmen of the Bantu.

Ways and means of winning the co-operation of the Bantu in effecting their own civilization must be found. This cannot be done by segregating them, for a policy of discrimination based on colour contains in itself the seeds of repression and race domination. The test in all things ought to be the standard of civilization reached and not race or colour, but before a policy of co-operation is able to make real headway in South Africa

it will be necessary to overcome the average white South African's colour prejudice and his habit of refusing to face facts or to think things out. It is curious that fear of the Native is strongest where experience of him as a fellow-citizen is slightest, that is in the three northern provinces of the Union. The provision of more land for the Bantu will become an absolute necessity as time goes on and as the task of the Europeans in Africa is to raise the Natives and not sink themselves, it should be their aim to give the Bantu in the reserves, as well as those in the towns and on the farms, every opportunity to raise their status, educationally, economically and politically, to the same level as that of the Europeans.

The various Transkeian Territories, 16,000 square miles in extent, all but a thousand of which is reserve land, are the largest of all the reserves in the Union, but even these territories cannot support their population adequately and half of the able-bodied men in the Transkei are usually away from home in European employment. These absentees at any one time number a tenth of the population and their wages, earned on the mines and on the farms, help to retrieve the unsound economic position of the Transkei and to secure cash for the payment of the local tax of 10s. per hut, the maximum being £2. What is true of these extensive reserves in the eastern part of the Cape Province applies in equal measure to the reserves in the other three provinces. They have reached their limit of population and it must be borne in mind that the retribution of erosion is worse in Native than in European areas. This is partly due to the fact that with the Bantu the keeping of cattle is a cult, so that poor quality cattle are continually increasing in number and are allowed to batten upon the land irrespective of their economic value. The following figures for 1931—five years before the passing of the Native Trust and Lands Act, which has somewhat improved the position—are of interest in showing the area of the reserves and the Native population in each province as percentages of the total area and population.

	<i>Natal</i>	<i>Cape Province</i>	<i>Transvaal</i>	<i>O.F.S.</i>
Area	28·2%	7·3%	3·7%	·5%
Population	80%	60%	70%	70%

Local government has naturally been developed to a greater degree in the reserves of the Transkei territory than in others. Each of the 26 districts of the Transkei, Tembuland, East Griqualand and East and West Pondoland has a council, consisting of the magistrate, two members nominated by the Native Affairs

Department on the advice of the chiefs and four chosen indirectly by the tax-payers. Above these is the United Transkeian Territories General Council (The Bunga) first established in 1895 and now consisting of the Paramount Chiefs of Tembuland and East and West Pondoland, three Native representatives from each of the districts and the 26 magistrates, who do not vote, under the chairmanship of the Chief Magistrate, who is also the Chief Native Commissioner for the Transkei. The Executive Committee of the Bunga comprises the Chief Magistrate, three other magistrates and four Bantu members. The Council has wide powers in local matters and exercises control over the considerable local development tax. After the meetings of the Bunga, the magistrates meet in conference and transmit its resolutions with their own recommendations to the Minister of Native Affairs to whose department these magistrates belong as do some of those serving in the Ciskei and Natal.

Only about half of the Bantu population live in the reserves, for nearly 2,000,000 dwell in European rural areas or on European farms and another 750,000 in the towns. The 1936 census found that there were 560,000 more Bantu outside Native areas than in them. The Native squatters on the European farms are the Bantu equivalent of the Poor Whites. The great majority of them occupy an intermediate position, like that of medieval serfs, between the status of labourers and tenants. They have little security, their privileges and obligations show extensive variation in different parts of the country and a very low level of subsistence is the fate of most.

The 1921 census clearly showed the drift of the Bantu population to the towns that had been taking place for many years and was to continue. In 1904 only 13 per cent. of the entire Bantu population was urban, while in 1936 the figure was 22 per cent. In the former year the Bantu formed 30 per cent. of the town population; in the latter year the percentage was 38. Many of the urban Bantu are completely detribalized. Some keep good homes and bring up their families decently, but others in the unsatisfactory slum conditions often prevalent in the larger cities become criminals and a source of danger to the well-being of all.

In the towns the Bantu come up against the "Colour Bar". All skilled and semi-skilled work on the mines and in other industries is closed to them. Many South Africans do not realize that there can be no economic progress in the Union, which fails to carry the Bantu population along with it. They fail to see that all labour of the future must be civilized, that a proportion of it must be black and that colour economically is a mere

accident. The South African Trade Unions and the Labour Party are antagonistic both to unskilled and to black labour. On the Witwatersrand a carpenter or bricklayer gets ten times the wages of his unskilled Bantu assistant. In South Africa the wages of unskilled labour average from only 10 per cent. to 30 per cent. of the wages of skilled labour, whereas in Canada, Australia and Britain the wages of the unskilled are from 50 per cent. to 70 per cent. of the wages of skilled workers. It is this factor which enables Europeans in South Africa to maintain a standard of living similar to that of the U.S.A. in a country poorer than most countries of western Europe.

Economically our only hope in the Union is to improve the Bantu not only as producers, but also as consumers. Thus, and only thus, will there be more wealth and more work for Black and White alike. The development of South African industries depends on the creation of a much greater home market and this can be obtained only by raising the standard of civilization among the Bantu. At present the "Colour Bar" closes all skilled occupations to the Bantu, while a strike of Natives is legally a criminal offence. The wages of Natives in the towns have scarcely risen above pre-war rates despite the great increase in the cost of living since 1914. Before the outbreak of the second world war in 1939 the average income of a Bantu breadwinner in Johannesburg was £50 per annum and the minimum expenditure of a small Bantu family in the region of £70 a year, the difference being made good by the earnings of the wife, the sale of illicitly brewed beer or the keeping of lodgers in the already overcrowded home. In fact, it is the acute poverty of the Natives which determines their low standard of civilization, and this makes their competition with the Poor Whites so deadly.

The South African Native is said by some to be lazy and to have little economic value, but primitive man is a lazy being whatever race he may belong to and in Africa it may not be irrelevant to point out that the saying, "He is as lazy as a Kaffir" is counterbalanced by the expression, "He works like a Nigger." The whole question of industry and idleness depends a great deal on the question of incentive and it cannot be expected that any race will be content always to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water." That great Negro, Booker Washington, expressed this very clearly when he said: "There is all the difference in the world between working and being worked." It is the backwardness of the coloured races in Africa that makes them a problem, for as workers they are less efficient, as competitors their low standard enables them to undercut white men's

wages and as consumers they are at present so negligible as to be a drag on the prosperity of the whole country. Economically, the gradual raising of the standard of civilization of the Bantu is the Union's only hope of future development and prosperity.

It has been said that our attitude towards our fellow men all depends upon our vision of the future. One man may look at our Bantu people and see in them all that is "common and unclean"; another may see civilized men in the making. Only small numbers of Bantu children are being educated, chiefly in schools conducted by the various Christian bodies, which have done so much to further the progress of the Native peoples, and subsidized either by the provincial or central organs of government. In 1925 the Native Development Account was opened, consisting of a fifth (since 1937 two-fifths) of the proceeds of the Native General Tax plus £340,000 a year from the general revenue of the Union Government. As a result the enrolment in the Native schools increased by 60 per cent. in the next ten years. Yet four out of every five Bantu children still receive no school education, although all male Natives over the age of eighteen pay at least £1 per annum in direct taxation and a not inconsiderable amount in indirect taxation.

There are those who contend that the Bantu are not capable of developing intellectually, but this assertion is disproved by the small, but increasing, number of Bantu matriculants and university graduates, among whom may be mentioned such men of distinction as the Rev. John Dube, Ph.D., Professor D. D. T. Jabavu and Dr. A. B. Xuma. In any case, as Dr. S. Biesheuvel has shown in his *African Intelligence*, present inferiority is no proof of permanent inability to progress. The reason why Africans have never thought as hard as the ancient and modern peoples of other lands lies not in any lack of inherent capacity, but in a lack of opportunity. Naturally, education will bring out and give scope to all that is good and all that is bad in the Bantu as it has done in the case of the European. Nowadays both in quality of character and in intellectual attainment individual Bantu undoubtedly stand far above many Europeans in South Africa, whose political and other rights they are debarred from sharing. To quote the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, "There is only one ideal that the British Empire can set before itself and that is that there should be no barrier of race, colour or creed, which should prevent any man by merit from reaching any station if he is fitted for it." In addition to the work of schools and missions much fruitful co-operation has been brought about between Europeans and educated Bantu by means of the various

Joint Councils of Europeans and Africans first established in 1921 and the S. African Institute of Race Relations, which has done invaluable work in the field of research and racial co-operation, since its foundation in 1929.

The latest political development in regard to the Bantu, the passing of the Representation of Natives Act in 1936, has been dealt with in the previous chapter. Whatever its merits the Act establishes a communal franchise, which will perpetuate the present unfortunate sectionalism, release all but a few from the necessity of paying any attention to Bantu interests and establish a small group of Europeans in Parliament definitely and exclusively as a Native group. South Africans must learn to think of the community as a whole. There is much to be said for the view that a common franchise should be attainable by all civilized citizens irrespective of their colour. Professor W. M. Macmillan in his study of the Native question says, of the educated, detribalized Bantu, "In face of the facts, there is no solution in any policy which, under whatever disguise, denies to this little group of progressive and dispossessed Bantu, when and how they attain to civilization, full rights of citizenship in the Union, which is their only home. Given such rights they can easily be led and won."

Fear of a greatly increased Native population is one reason continually advanced for not granting the Bantu political rights, but this fear is largely an unfounded one. The 1921 census—4,698,000 Bantu to 1,519,000 Europeans—was the first reliable count of the coloured races and more than hinted at a great rise in the Bantu population in the future, but the evidence on which this was based proved unreliable. It is unlikely that the increase of the Bantu population in proportion to the European population will be very rapid, for the reserves are supporting as large a population as they can, there are thousands of Bantu men living in a state of enforced celibacy for long periods and infantile mortality among the Bantu is very high. The very people who shout loudest about the increase in the Bantu population are often those who raise a great cry about the shortage of Native labour. This is the kind of loose thinking that is all too common in contemporary South African politics.

A word or two is necessary on the administration of justice towards the Bantu peoples of the Union. Though the integrity of the South African Bench stands high and there has been considerable improvement in recent years in the administration of justice in the lower courts, it is doubtful whether it is possible for the Native to secure justice when he is tried by a

jury, not of his peers, but of Europeans, or by an over-worked and, probably, unsympathetic magistrate. Thousands of the Natives who fill the gaols every year are imprisoned for purely technical offences connected with the Pass Laws, which nowadays are not being used primarily as a means of protection, but as a way of extracting money from the Natives, especially in fines. Most Native crimes are due to poverty or ignorance or are offences against laws that do not apply to Europeans. In 1936, for example, there were 62,000 convictions for not carrying a pass; 57,000 for the contravention of location and municipal regulations; 63,000 for not having paid the poll tax and 68,000 for being in possession of Kaffir beer. On the average convictions are at the rate of one in fourteen of the Bantu population annually, but quite 90 per cent. of Bantu criminals are convicted for purely statutory offences. The danger is that such offenders are often forced to consort with real criminals in the prisons. At the present time it may be necessary to check the free movement of the Bantu by the pass system, but all Natives who reach a certain standard of elementary education might be exempted from its provisions with advantage to themselves and the State. Alternatively, a system of identity cards might be introduced for all citizens of the Union of South Africa irrespective of colour. As a people the Bantu are both long-suffering and law-abiding—a few hundred police keep a million Natives in order in the Transkeian Territories—but to quote from *The South Africans* by S. G. Millin, "except for the British ideal of justice, for the Cape tradition of freedom, for the passionate service of here and there a hot-hearted South African, the Kaffir has little hope of generous treatment in the midst of the white people."

✓ South Africa has a question of tremendous difficulty and infinite complication to tackle—a problem almost unique in the history of the world, for, although there are other European communities that have Native peoples with whom to deal, they have, unlike the Union, no Native question. In the U.S.A. there are ten Europeans to every Negro, in New Zealand twenty Europeans to every Maori, in Canada eighty Europeans to every Red Indian and in Australia a hundred Europeans to every Aborigine. On the other hand in South Africa there are more than three Bantu to every European; according to the 1936 census there are 6,600,000 Bantu to 2,000,000 Europeans. These two groups must work together to build a strong and united South Africa. In the words of the great African administrator, Lord Lugard, the true conception of the inter-relation of races of different colour

lies in "complete uniformity in ideals, absolute equality in the paths of knowledge and culture, equal opportunity for those who strive, equal admiration for those who achieve; in matters racial and social a separate path, each pursuing his own inherited traditions, preserving his own race-purity and race pride; equality in things spiritual, agreed divergence in the physical and material."

If ever one were tempted to accept the late Lord Balfour's description of the life history of the human race as a "brief but discreditable episode in the life of one of the meaner planets," it would be when one read of the dealings of the white races with the coloured races of Africa, especially during the centuries of the devastating slave trade. If the future is to hold more promise than the past, men are needed in South Africa both white and black, with broad minds, big hearts and strong will, resolved to do their duty whatever the cost may be, realizing in the words of Theodore Roosevelt that aggressive fighting for the right is the noblest sport this world has to offer.

(B) *Poor Whites*

[The Poor White problem in its essentials is another facet of the Native question, for the past hundred years or so have produced not only a Poor Black section of the population but also the Poor White community. In many respects they are the result of similar causes and they form the two most serious internal problems which the South African state has to solve.] The first detailed and scientific study of the Poor White problem on a Union-wide scale was made by South African investigators financed by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. This Carnegie Commission issued its invaluable report in five volumes in 1932, the third volume of which written by Dr. E. G. Malherbe and entitled *Education and the Poor White* is the most comprehensive of the set.

A Poor White has been defined as someone of European descent who cannot support himself according to even a moderate European standard of civilization. Perhaps a tenth of the European population may definitely be classed as Poor White, though the Carnegie Commission estimated that 300,000 of the European community, that is $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the whole, were "very poor." Moreover, owing to drought and depression the situation was undoubtedly worse for a few years following 1930. The Poor Whites live mostly in rural areas; all the census reports published at somewhat irregular intervals from 1904 onwards show that the drift of the European rural population to the

towns has been both widespread and continuous, but this is not necessarily a bad sign, as will be shown later. In the rural areas about 30 per cent. of the European population belongs to the landless squatter class known as *bywoners*, who often live precariously on the land of others but neither as wage-earners nor tenants, though there is usually some understanding between the landowner and the bywoners about the sharing of cattle and crops. This haphazard system has no parallel elsewhere in the British Commonwealth. In some parts of the country the typical trek-Boer wandering about with a small herd of stock and a portable grass mat hut is still to be found. In the Cape forests there is a race of poor wood-cutters, many of whom bear British names. At times on the alluvial diamond diggings there are thousands of Poor Whites living in the most abject conditions of poverty.

Many factors have played a part in the origin of the Poor White section of the community. The hardships and isolated life in the frontier districts of the old Cape Colony were one of the earlier causes and it is likely that many Poor Whites found land and some salvation by joining the Great Trek, for as long as there was empty land to which to trek their numbers were kept down. But before long the conditions that prevailed in the outlying districts of the Cape Colony were repeated in the states founded by the Voortrekkers on the interior plateau of southern Africa, for they did not go forth to found a new world but to continue the old one that they knew. The isolation of life in the huge area between the Orange and the Limpopo was even more marked than in the Cape of pre-Trek days. Educational facilities were often almost non-existent and there was no inducement to enterprise. Their environment tended to make many of the pioneer Boers an ignorant and indolent people, though hardy and self-reliant withal. Moreover, the time came when land was again scarce and then it was revealed that, though many had obtained much land too easily, others were landless squatters on the farms of the more well-to-do. For many years both in the Cape Colony and in the two republics the deterioration of a large section of the European population was overlooked, as a result of the preoccupation with numerous wars against the Bantu and the political strife between Boer and Briton, but before the end of the century the problem was engaging the attention of the Cape Government as well as that of President Kruger in the Transvaal, where changing economic conditions consequent upon the discovery of gold tended to increase

the number of the Poor Whites, who as a group have proved very unadaptable to new ways of life.

Another factor which has contributed to the development of the Poor White, is the attitude to manual labour which originated first in the slave-owning Cape Colony, as in the Southern States of the U.S.A., and has persisted in South Africa owing to the plentiful supply of cheap Native labour. Thus the Poor White has "lost the habit of performing manual toil and acquired the habit of despising it." This attitude to so-called "Kaffir work" hindered the Government in all its early efforts to provide suitable unskilled and semi-skilled work for the Poor White and it is only being gradually overcome by means of education.

The Roman-Dutch law of inheritance, which remained the law of Natal to 1863, of the Cape Colony to 1874, of the O.F.S. to 1901 and the Transvaal to 1902, necessitated the division of a man's property among his sons. Despite its abolition it is still respected in the more backward rural areas of the Union. The constant sub-dividing of landed property has harmed the land and its owners alike and, owing to local climatic conditions, has not resulted in the development of a thrifty peasantry of small landholders such as exists in France, where 2,500,000 landowners possess less than 25 acres each, while another 2,000,000 own less than 2½ acres each. In South Africa, as a result of a constant process of sub-division, farms eventually became so small that a living could not be made out of them and so the owners either became by-owners on the land of a progressive farmer or drifted to the diamond diggings or the towns, where they were often too inefficient to command a living wage and so joined the ranks of the unemployed and unemployable. The alternative to sub-division was, occasionally, collective ownership, but this procedure was often equally disastrous and led to profitless wrangling amongst the owners.

Both the Carnegie Commission in its report and W. M. Macmillan in his book *Complex South Africa* (1930), quote ludicrous examples of the effect of the Roman-Dutch law of succession. In the Marico District the Commission came across a young farmer, who had inherited a farm 5,000 yards long and only 280 yards wide, the perimeter being 6½ miles. Elsewhere in the same district an old man, who possessed land 52 acres in extent portions of which were arable in good seasons, said he intended to divide it equally among his ten children. "Then," he told the investigators "each of them will have

his own spot to settle on." Having this outlook too many of the rural population remained at home with their eyes glued on the land they hoped to inherit one day, instead of going out into the world to earn their living in the unskilled and semi-skilled labour market.

Professor Macmillan quotes similar cases in the Tzitsikama region: a loan place of 3,000 morgen originally granted in 1817 was owned a century later by twenty-three individuals, who held shares varying from $1/128$ to $237/1,200$ of the original farm. The 1,070 morgen farm next door was owned by thirteen individuals, one of whom possessed $159,727/1,232,640$ of the farm! This example is rivalled by that of a case in the Ladismith District of the Cape Province, where a farm of 2,527 morgen first granted in 1832 had fifty owners in 1908, three of whom owned one morgen in all! Another aspect of this side of the problem is discussed by the Poor White Commission, who quote the case of twenty-one families living on 1,300 acres, all of whom were related to one another, being descended from three brothers who had originally occupied the farm. Their descendants intermarried to such an extent that they deteriorated in every respect.

In the past Europeans, like the Bantu, were driven off the land, because they had dissipated its resources by wasteful and unscientific methods of farming. As early as 1841 there was not a tree fit even for fuel within fifteen miles of Pietermaritzburg. The improvidence of men has found a cruel ally in drought. Since the early 'eighties, there has been on an average one severe drought every six years and it is not only in the reserves that the power of the land to resist drought has been weakened by over-stocking or grass-burning. As a result of the disappearance of trees and the erosion or exhaustion of the soil, the rainfall in many parts of the country does less good and the drought more harm than in times past. Consequently, many men, ruined and discouraged, abandon rural pursuits to live in urban areas. In recent times men of the bywoner class have also been forced off the land by the development of pastoral farming at the expense of agriculture and through the introduction of more up-to-date farming in place of the superficial methods of the backveld.

It has often been said that the Anglo-Boer War was a cause of Poor White-ism, but the Commission came to the conclusion that the War was merely an aggravating factor, as were droughts and, in some parts of the country, the prevalence of bilharzia and malaria. The Carnegie Commission in their Report on

Health (Volume IV) state : " No evidence has been found to show that either epidemic disease, under-feeding or ill-feeding, or the climate of South Africa, so deleteriously affects the physique or nutrition of the well-to-do section of the European population as to bring about their poverty. The primary causes which have resulted in the Poor White problem have not been physical. But poverty and ignorance lead to malnutrition and so weaken the Poor White's resistance to disease, lessen his physical efficiency and thus accentuate the problem." The real cause is that this section of the people has not kept pace with the times and that this is so is due in no small measure to the indolence of the Poor Whites or, as the Commission terms it, their " lack of industry." Yet the intelligence survey which the Commission made of numerous children from Poor White homes "leads to the conclusion that the greater part of them constitutes a human material which need not be a burden, but which may, granted a sound State policy, become a decided asset to the Union."

This brings us to a consideration of the cure, or at least the alleviation, of the problem. To keep the Poor Whites on the land the Union Government and the Dutch Reformed Church have established land settlement schemes to provide them with smallholdings and to teach them better farming methods. The Church settlement at Kakamas on the Orange River in the north-western corner of the Cape Province has been one of the most successful rehabilitation settlements, but every such scheme is a palliative rather than a cure. Moreover, the families placed on these settlements have been carefully chosen and yet only about half of them seem to make good.

Successive governments have also adopted a white labour policy to provide the Poor Whites with unskilled and semi-skilled work on the railways, roads and irrigation schemes. In 1921 there were 4,700 unskilled Europeans employed by the S.A. Railways. Seven years later the number was not far short of 16,000. They were given free housing and paid at the rate of from 3s. to 5s. a day. In this manner over a period of years thousands have reached a higher level of subsistence. On the other hand this policy of replacing Natives in unskilled occupations by Europeans added another disability to the Bantu. In the case of the railways it also meant that, contrary to the provisions of the South Africa Act, they were being used as a means of disguised poor relief. By means of such subsidized relief work and by charitable endeavour the rest of the community is helping to carry the Poor Whites and to raise their status.

Thirdly, the development of South African industries will provide more work for all classes of the community, including the Poor Whites, many of the better sort of whom have found employment in the towns, for example in the mining industry or in the police force. The Carnegie Commission did not consider that the best place for the Poor Whites was necessarily on the land. In fact in their Report the commissioners stated that industrial work in the towns was "one of the most potent means of bringing about their economic rehabilitation."

Lastly and, perhaps, most important of all, the improvement of educational facilities, especially in the country districts, will gradually improve the status of the Poor White section of the nation. The recent establishment of farm-schools in the Transvaal has been one of several practical steps in this direction. The extension of a suitable type of education to enable the Poor White to pass from the old patriarchal way of life to the modern industrial and commercial system will prove the most important factor in dealing with the problem. The Carnegie Commission has itself pointed out the danger of the indiscriminate giving of State and charitable doles to the Poor White in the sociological volume of their Report in which they state that "the spirit of dependence on the State on the part of the poor, and even of the more privileged classes, has grown to such an extent that it may almost be called a national malady."

The Commission also drew attention to the danger of allowing people to retain the vote if they were in receipt of government aid, over and above the privileges that fall to all citizens. "There are signs that voting power and political influence are being abused to an increasing degree in order to obtain State assistance" was the unanimous view of the commissioners. The opinion has been expressed that those who accept government assistance should forfeit the valued right to vote.

Taking the broad view and looking at the South African picture as a whole, it cannot be demonstrated that the interests of Black and White are antagonistic to each other. In actual fact the fate of the Poor White depends upon the solution of the problem of the Poor Black. South Africa is glutted with unskilled labour. European and Bantu, that is both inefficient and poverty-stricken. Once again it is necessary to stress the point, made earlier in this

chapter, that it is vital to increase the purchasing power of the black majority in order to develop the nascent industries of the white minority, so that all may benefit as the resources of South Africa are developed to the full in the interests of the Union of South Africa as a whole and the varied communities that comprise the South African nation.

CHAPTER TWENTY

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS IN ARCHITECTURE, LITERATURE AND ART

(A) *Architecture*

The early settlers came to the Cape from the Netherlands at a time when the Dutch were a great force in the world of art, for the second half of the seventeenth century was the age of Hals, Rembrandt, Vermeer and Hobbema, all of whom were helped by the patronage of the merchant princes of the thriving commercial cities, whose fortunes were so closely linked with those of the Dutch East India Company. The founders of the Cape settlement brought with them from the United Provinces their knowledge of Dutch architecture and, adapting it to the climatic needs of their new home, bequeathed to South Africa a heritage of solid workmanship more especially in the sphere of domestic architecture.

Cape Town Castle, the largest architectural work of the first years of the Colony, has several interesting features, the most striking being the Entrance Gateway surmounted by an octagonal turret with a graceful cupola constructed of small bricks brought all the way from Holland. The inner courtyard of the Castle contains the old residence of the governors, now used as offices by the military authorities of the Cape Command. The entrance portico to this block is most attractive and the handsome main doors are surmounted by a finely carved fanlight. To have built the Castle at the end of the seventeenth century of the best material and to have enriched it with numerous architectural embellishments is no mean achievement, when it is remembered that it was set upon savage shores six thousand miles from Europe.

However, it was in domestic, and not in public, architecture that the early Cape architects excelled. Groot Constantia, the home of quiet dignity and beauty which Simon van der Stel set amid avenues and orchards to give expression to his ideal of life, was the first large country house built at the Cape and became the prototype of all later Cape homesteads. Cape architects might have based their work upon the pure Dutch or the Batavian style of architecture, which some of them also

knew at first hand from having served the Company in its possessions in the East. They chose rather to form a style of their own, though they borrowed certain features from both styles. The influence of local materials is seen in their choice of plain-plastered walls and also in the brown reed thatch with which the country houses are roofed. The decorated gables are undoubtedly Flemish in origin, though they tended to become more elaborate under Huguenot influence. The influence of the East is evident in the fine wooden screens with louvred or inlaid panels, which in many old houses divide the entrance hall from the dining room beyond. The stoeps or verandahs were open and very often a seat was built at each end, where the slaves waited while their masters and mistresses paid calls. It is surprising that the covered stoep so common in the East Indies was not introduced at the Cape to afford protection from the sun. These features and others common to most of the later houses are all embodied in Groot Constantia now carefully restored by the Union Government—there are to be seen the graceful gable, the sash-windows with solid teak shutters, the handsome main entrance with its carved fanlight and doors with delicate iron and brass hinges. The woodwork in the old houses was almost invariably of teak brought from the East by the Company's vessels on their way back to Holland. The ground plan of these houses is peculiar to the Cape. The country houses were built usually in the form of the letter H lying on its side with two small gardens between the arms, while the town houses, which were frequently two-storeyed and flat-roofed, were in the form of a square U with a little court between the two arms.

Another feature of the farmsteads was the detached belfry like those found on old Dutch estates in Ceylon. The bells were used to rouse the farm hands at sunrise, to call them from the fields for the midday meal and to summon them from their toil at sunset.

Little is known of the architects of these times, but the skilled workmen who built the old homesteads were usually slaves brought from Ceylon, Java and Mozambique. The charm of the old houses of the Cape Peninsula and its environs depends upon one of the essentials of all good architecture, namely true proportion. This fundamental quality as well as their simplicity and lack of pretension have made of these old homes set amid ancient oaks an inspiration to modern South African architects. Their preservation, encouraged by Cecil Rhodes, may well be considered a national duty.

In the early days on the polished floors of their cool, lofty rooms there stood good solid furniture. Some of it had been brought from Holland; other pieces had found their way back from the East. Later on furniture was made locally of stinkwood. In its splendid craftsmanship most of this old furniture was worthy of its setting; unfortunately much of it has been scattered or lost. The huge wardrobes or presses were usually made of stinkwood, a brown wood known to botanists as *Ocatea bullata*, the panels sometimes being of yellow-wood or beef-wood and ebony or satin-wood being used for inlaying. The beautiful handles and keyhole escutcheons were usually of brass or silver. The ample kists or chests were also decorated with fine brass-work. The tables of the period, whether solid and plain, or small and dainty, have all a distinctive charm of their own. In design many of the chairs of the period appear to owe something to the influence of eighteenth century England. Many chairs have cane seats, but a special feature of the colonial furniture of the period is the use of thin leather thongs for seating. These *riempie* seats are not only attractive but also serviceable. The blue and white Nankin china of everyday use was brought from the East. So too was much of the chintz and other fabrics used in furnishing.

From these early days at least one name of architectural fame has come down to us, namely that of Louis Thibault, who resided at the Cape from 1783 to 1815. He was born near Amiens and became a pupil of the celebrated French architect, Gabriel. He enrolled in a Swiss regiment in the pay of the Dutch East India Company and in 1783 landed at the Cape, where he became chief of the military engineers. During the rule of the Batavian Republic he was an inspector of public works and he retained this position during the second British occupation. He undertook alterations to the Castle and among other buildings in Cape Town designed the old Supreme Court and the house now known as the Koopmans de Wet Museum, but his principal work is the Drostdy at Tulbagh. Several old homesteads are also attributed to Thibault, who no doubt was associated in his work with Anton Anreith, a sculptor, who came to the Cape in 1777. Some of his work also remains to us, notably the exquisite pediment over the wine-cellar at Groot Constantia and the elaborately carved pulpit of the old Dutch Church in Adderley Street, the main street of Cape Town.

In passing it may be noticed that ecclesiastical architecture at the Cape fell below the high level set by domestic architecture. This is true of the early Dutch churches as well as of the places

of worship set up by the Anglican and other denominations in the nineteenth century. In recent years Mr. Gerard Moerdyk, the well-known Pretoria architect, Mr. Frank Fleming, at one time a partner of Sir Herbert Baker, and others have done much to raise the standard of church architecture.

In South Africa, as in Great Britain and the U.S.A., the second half of the nineteenth century illustrates the bad effect of sudden wealth upon the moulding of a nation's taste, for in the years following the discovery of mineral wealth in South Africa, in all the larger towns, but especially in Johannesburg and Kimberley, ordinary jerry-built villas such as abound in the industrial states of Europe and America, were built without any attention being paid to local climatic conditions. In South Africa the almost universal use of corrugated iron for roofing purposes has been an additional aesthetic failing unknown in Britain.

I think it may be said that domestic architecture in South Africa in the present century is in advance of the work in the other Dominions. This is due to the fact that there were certain traditional lines on which to work and to the influence of Sir Herbert Baker in reviving interest in the architecture of the early settlers and in adapting it to modern needs. Sir Herbert Baker is the pre-eminent figure in the history of S. African architecture. Born in England in 1862, his long and fruitful connection with South Africa began thirty years later when he opened an office in Cape Town. Cecil Rhodes, who became his friend and patron, commissioned him to design Groote Schuur, his home on the slopes of Devil's Peak, in the old Cape tradition. It is now the official residence of the Prime Minister of the Union. During the Anglo-Boer War Rhodes sent his architect on a study tour in Egypt and Southern Europe. After the death of his patron, Baker, acting on the advice of Lord Milner, came to the Transvaal, where he designed many fine dwellings in Johannesburg and Pretoria, several of them being in the Cape style, including Government House at Pretoria.

Herbert Baker designed the Union Buildings at Pretoria, the supreme architectural achievement of Southern Africa, which were built between 1910 and 1913 on Meintjes Kop. In this magnificent public structure the architect, under the influence of the master-builders of Southern Italy and the grandeur that was Greece, has displayed his genius for design to the full. Certainly no finer building exists in the southern hemisphere and it would be difficult to imagine any more impressive place than its amphitheatre for the holding of great national gatherings.

and as a whole and with the passing of the years the setting of the Buildings has been made more and more beautiful as the surrounding gardens have been laid out. Other edifices that owe much or all to the genius of Baker are the Cathedral and University at Cape Town, the as yet unfinished cathedrals at Johannesburg and Pretoria, St. John's College and the South African Institute of Medical Research at Johannesburg and the Reserve Bank and Railway Station at Pretoria.

In 1913 Baker was appointed joint architect with Sir Edwin Lutyens for the Imperial City of Delhi, for which he designed the Secretariat, the House of Assembly and the Council of Princes. However, he did not entirely sever his connection with the Union, for after the Great War he was responsible for designing the South African Memorial at Delville Wood, South Africa House in London and Rhodes House at Oxford. Some of his best work is in East Africa and his last big undertaking was the reconstruction of the Bank of England. This great architect was knighted in 1926 and was elected a Royal Academician four years later.

Young countries like South Africa cannot be rich in national monuments, but the Rhodes Memorial on the slopes of Devil's Peak at Cape Town, which Baker planned as a memorial to "the immense and brooding spirit" of Cecil Rhodes is in the grand style. The site, which looks out upon the Atlantic and Indian Oceans and the great plains that lead to the North, is one of the grandest in the world. The design of the monument is simple and closely follows the Greek Doric, which the architect had studied in the Sicilian temples. Flanking the great flight of steps are eight bronze lions, the last creations of J. M. Swan, R.A., who also made the bust of Rhodes for the monument. The whole forms a magnificent setting for G. F. Watts's "Physical Energy" which is symbolic of the vision of Rhodes. It has been described as a bronze figure "mounted on a gigantic steed ready for the race, but reining the horse in while looking into the distance at the destination which he means to reach." It is a fitting memorial to Cecil Rhodes, statesman, philanthropist and patron of the arts. South African culture will always be indebted to Sir Herbert Baker, whose influence has been a stimulating factor in the development of the national taste in the realms of public, ecclesiastical and domestic architecture.

(B) Literature

Any study of the literature of South Africa, however short, must begin with the story of the evolution and recognition of

the Afrikaans Language, for as language is constantly changing the Afrikaner of to-day does not speak like his Dutch ancestors of the seventeenth century or like his distant kinsmen in the Holland of the twentieth century. As a spoken language Afrikaans was definitely distinguishable before the beginning of the nineteenth century and by 1860 it was being used as a medium of literary expression.

Afrikaans is a direct development of the Dutch of the first colonists modified to some extent by outside influences. In the last years of the seventeenth century the arrival of the Huguenots and also of German settlers had a slight effect upon the language of the more numerous colonists of Dutch descent, while a few Hottentot words and, perhaps, a hundred or so words from the corrupt Portuguese of the slaves from the East Indies and the African coast found their way into the vocabulary of Afrikaans. Still on the whole outside influences were slight, for even at the beginning of the nineteenth century the cultural standards of the colony were primitive and such cultural influence as existed was that of the Dutch Reformed Church. There were few churches and fewer schools. Books were scarce, and between 1691 and the first British occupation very few immigrants came from Europe. Until the arrival of the 1820 Settlers the British occupations brought little immediate improvement outside the seat of government, but the foundation in 1818 of the South African Public Library, now one of the foremost Dominion libraries, the establishment of the Royal Observatory in 1821 with the Rev. F. Fallowes as first Astronomer Royal, and the recognition of the freedom of the press in 1828 were all significant cultural developments. The first of a long line of Dutch papers appeared shortly afterwards. In more recent times English has naturally had some influence on Afrikaans, which, as a branch of the same parent stem as modern Dutch, is heir to the rich literature and culture of the Netherlands in the same way as Americans are heirs to the great body of English literature.

A fear that Afrikaans might be swamped by English in the Cape Colony led the Rev. S. J. du Toit to organize the first movement to further the interests of Afrikaans, when he founded *Die Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners* (The Society of True Afrikaners) and published *Die Patriot* in 1875. This was the first Afrikaans periodical and within half-a-dozen years its subscribers increased from fifty to three thousand. However, in the last years of the century Mr. du Toit's influence declined, and his paper ceased publication in 1904. In the period before the outbreak of the War in 1899 about 120 works were published

in Afrikaans, but despite this small output these years cannot be regarded as being altogether devoid of results.

After the war Advocate J. H. H. de Waal pleaded for the official recognition of Afrikaans in his journal *De Goede Hoop* and he was supported by J. H. Hofmeyr and Gustav Preller, then sub-editor of *De Volkstem* of Pretoria. Then in 1906 the Afrikaanse Taalvereniging (Language Association) was founded in Cape Town and began to exert a strong influence in favour of Afrikaans. Three years later the South African Academy for Language, Literature and Art was started and in the year of Union the literary journal *Die Brandwag* began its successful career to be followed some years later by the popular weekly, *Die Huisgenoot*.

The South Africa Act, which established the Union of South Africa in 1910, recognized High Dutch and English as the two official languages and thereafter Afrikaans soon came into its own. In 1914 Afrikaans was recognized as a medium of instruction in the schools in three Provinces. Five years later the Dutch Churches also officially accepted it for use in their services and the first Chairs of Afrikaans were established at the universities. In 1925 Parliament declared Afrikaans to be an official language of the Union and soon afterwards a beginning was made with the translation of the Bible and the compilation of a standard dictionary.

Jan Celliers may be considered as the pioneer literary artist in Afrikaans, for in his poem, *Die Vlakte*, published in 1906 he showed that sublime thoughts could be expressed as beautifully in Afrikaans as in the older languages of Europe. Afrikaans proved an ideal medium for versification and so in its literary development poetry came before prose. Among the pioneers in this sphere of literature may be mentioned J. D. du Toit (Totius), whose volumes of poetry *By die Monument* (1908) and *Trekkerswee* (1914) have great literary merit, Dr. C. L. Leipoldt, D. F. Malherbe, H. H. Joubert and A. G. Visser.

In prose the publication of Gustav Preller's life of Piet Retief in 1907 is a landmark in the history of Afrikaans literature. Among well-known writers whose works have become classics and in some cases have been translated into English, may be mentioned Eugene Marais, author of *The Soul of the White Ant*; A. A. Pienaar (Sangiro), whose *Uit Oerwoud en Vlakte* is popular with English readers as *The Adventures of a Lion Family*; J. R. van Bruggen, whose *Ampie* is a fine analytical study of Poor White character; Professor T. J. Haarhoff, best-known for his translations from the Classics;

Professor J. J. Smith, the leading authority on the history of the Afrikaans language; Marie Linde and Nico Hofmeyr. To-day there is no question of the virility of Afrikaans literature, the output of which has increased tremendously in the last twenty years, but what Afrikaans still lacks is competent and honest literary criticism. None the less, its development so far is a clear indication of the cultural progress made by the Afrikaans-speaking population in the past half century.

It has been said that all studies of English literature in South Africa begin with the "mild but inevitable" Thomas Pringle, the poet among the 1820 Settlers, since most of the earlier writings about South Africa were the work of men travelling in the country only for short periods for the purpose of scientific research and exploration. In the nineteenth century there was a considerable output of work by men engaged in the mission field, among whom the name of David Livingstone stands out, much of their work being in the fields of anthropology, philology and geography.

Olive Schreiner's *Story of an African Farm*, which is largely autobiographical, was published in 1883 by Messrs. Chapman and Hall on the advice of their reader, George Meredith, and may be regarded as the first literary attempt to construct a readable tale from local material. Olive Schreiner (1855-1920), the daughter of a missionary, wrote much of the book on a farm 25 miles from Cradock, the nearest village, and 200 miles from the railway line. At the time it made a great impression on men as different as W. E. Gladstone and Cecil Rhodes. A later book, *Trooper Peter Halkett*, was much criticized at the time for its attack on the first settlers of Rhodesia, but it deserves to be read for the exquisite prose in which the landscape is described. It was in the late 'eighties, after his return to England from the Transvaal, that Rider Haggard published in quick succession *King Solomon's Mines*, *She*, *Jess* and *Allan Quatermain*, which on account of their scene all really belong to South African literature.

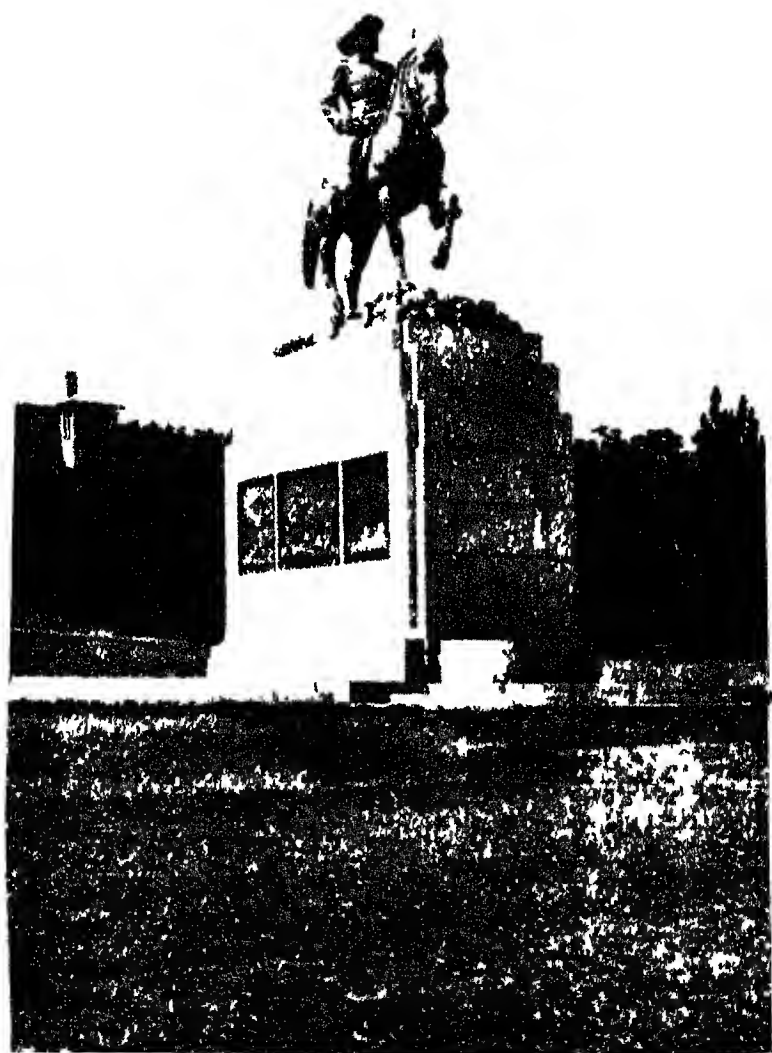
Of writers in the decade before Union the best remembered are George McCall Theal, the historian; Monsignor F. C. Kolbe D.D., a poet of distinction; W. C. Scully, a magistrate in the Cape Colony, whose best work is in fiction; Cullen Gouldsbury, a poet of Native life and author of *Rhodesian Rhymes*; the Rev. F. Cripps, a missionary in Rhodesia, equally at home in prose and verse; and Ian Colvin, who wrote a history of South Africa for the "Story of the Empire" series. Last, but by no means least, there was Sir Percy FitzPatrick,



[Reproduced by permission of the South African Railways.]
THE KOOPMANS DE WET HOUSE, CAPE TOWN.



[Reproduced by permission of the South African Railways.]



[Photograph by G S Lohw, Pretoria
ON THE LEFT IS PORTA —The statue by Christ Steynberg at the Union Buildings Pretoria.

whose busy life in the world of finance, mining and politics failed to dull either the vigour of his imagination or the vivacity of his style. He wrote in succession a book of travel *With Pick and Pen through Mashonaland*; a readable account of public affairs, *The Transvaal from Within*; a collection of short stories published under the title of *The Outspan*; and in 1907 *Jock of the Bushveld*, which typifies South Africa as the land is known to those who take good care to spend more time in the open veld than in the large cities.

In the year of Union Mr. Sydney Mendelssohn published the two volumes of his monumental *South African Bibliography*, which is much more than a complete catalogue of South African literature, for all the books listed in it and many of the magazine articles as well are carefully analysed by the author, who bequeathed his extensive library to the Union Government to form the nucleus of a National Library of Africana.

In the period between the two world wars the output of English writers in South Africa has not been large, but it has been on a high standard in several fields of literature. In History Sir George Cory's volumes on the Rise of S. Africa deserve mention, while the works of Professor E. A. Walker of Cape Town and Professor W. M. Macmillan of the University of the Witwatersrand have attracted attention far beyond the borders of the Union. The late Colonel Deneys Reitz's three volumes of autobiography have made a wide appeal, the first *Commando* being a classic in its way. In verse the Natal poet, Roy Campbell, the author of *Flaming Terrapin* and *The Wayzgoose*, stands in a class by himself. Frank Brownlee's studies of native life and character are widely appreciated, while in fiction the outstanding novelists are all women—Pauline Smith, the author of delightful sketches of life on the Karoo; Ethelreda Lewis, the writer of the Trader Horn books; Daphne Muir, whose second book, *The Lost Crusade*, is a historical novel of considerable merit; and Sarah Gertrude Millin, a versatile writer, perhaps more appreciated in Britain and the U.S.A. than she is in her homeland. Among Mrs. Millin's many novels, *God's Step-Children*, a study of the coloured problem in one of its many aspects, holds pride of place, while *The South Africans* (1926) and, especially, her life of Rhodes (1933) and the two volumes on General Smuts (1936) have shown that Mrs. Millin is as much at home as a writer of biography and history as she is in the realm of fiction. It is natural, perhaps, that South African authors have been more prolific in writing in Afrikaans than in English, as readers of English also have the

literature of Britain, the other Dominions and the United States or their field, but though the output in English has been smaller than in Afrikaans significant contributions have been made by writers using the English medium to the literary store of South Africa.

(C) *Visual Arts*

It has been said by one of the modern students of primitive art in South Africa that one of our greatest national treasures is our so-called Bushmen Art. Unfortunately, South Africans do not generally appreciate the fact that the rock engravings and paintings in the Union, S. W. Africa and Rhodesia are the most complete and important examples of primitive art extant in the world to-day, though they are undoubtedly more recent than those in Spain and Southern France. Over 200 engraving sites and 900 painting sites have been recorded to date; some few have been declared national monuments; others are still being discovered from time to time by enthusiastic investigators; but many by neglect have been lost to posterity.

Primitive art is found in South Africa in two forms—firstly, there are the colourless engravings on exposed ironstone rocks and, secondly, the polychrome paintings on the soft walls of rock-shelters. Most of this primitive art was born out of sheer pleasure. It is probable that the engravings are the work of a people who preceded the Bushmen as the inhabitants of Southern Africa. They have been termed the Rockmen and may have done some of the earliest paintings too, but the later ones are the work of the Bushmen of whose history and habits something is known. The engravings of the Rockmen, who lived among the rocks that top the kopjes edging the valleys of the Orange and the Vaal, the Riet and the Modder, are obviously of very great age. They are usually of single animals in standing postures.

The Bushman painters of later times usually painted groups of eland and other animals in every conceivable position. The attitude of both the engravers and painters to the animal kingdom was one of equality, for they appeared neither to fear animals nor to regard them as domestic pets. Their representation of animals, whether in repose or in action, has never been excelled and establishes their prestige above all other primitive artists. It is almost impossible to estimate the age of the Bushmen paintings with any degree of accuracy. Much of the later work done a century or so ago is poor in quality as compared with earlier specimens of their art which may go back more than a

used, which in most cases have lasted longer than the rock surfaces on which they were painted, but earth colours—ochres, reds, browns, blacks and whites—predominate in their paintings, greens and blues being entirely absent. The size of the painting varies tremendously; the earlier ones are often the largest, and in many cases later paintings have been superimposed on older ones. In style they vary from simple monochrome silhouettes to the shaded polychrome masterpieces found in the north-eastern part of the Cape Province. Enough has been said to indicate that the painting of animals was their favourite theme, but many of the later paintings depict the human form in such a manner as to give expression to the whole figure. Pure landscapes have not been found among the subjects of Bushman Art.

A few Bushmen still exist, chiefly in the Kalahari, but they have no artistic gifts. Walter Battiss in his interesting study entitled *The Amazing Bushman* attributes this to several factors. He says the infiltrations of new people—Hottentots, Bantu and Europeans—meant the destruction of the primitive way of life of the Bushmen which was the inspiration of their art. Then through intermarriage a hybrid people without artistic talents came to occupy the painting areas. Moreover, the chance of very small communities being able to produce artists of merit is naturally rare. Though the Bushmen artists have been destroyed, much of their art has survived to form for us what the Abbé Henri Breuil, the distinguished French savant, has called "landscapes of the soul."

Though the Bantu have little or no gift for painting, their arts and crafts are indicative of a love of the simple rather than the ornate. That is a characteristic of all sincere art and is evident in their pottery and basketry, their wooden utensils and bead-work, as well as in their traditional forms of hut-building that vary from tribe to tribe. The Bantu is not concerned with realism, so that formal design is the particular gift of the Black Man in contrast to that of the little Yellow Man, whose work has just been discussed. In his second book *South African Paint Pot*, Walter Battiss has said of the Bantu artist that his fingers prove his most sensitive tool, coloured earths his palette and mud and dung his canvas. Unfortunately, most of his art is short-lived, for decorated walls fall down and pots break. In the open country the Bantu live in complete harmony with their environment and their taste is governed almost entirely by tradition, but in contact with European civilization there is a very real danger that tribal arts and crafts may be lost. It is both our duty and in our own interest to see that Bantu art

becomes a supplement to our own more developed, complicated and variegated culture.

As in the case of literary work the first examples of European art in South Africa were the works of travellers, like W. J. Burchell and Thomas Baines, whose interests were purely in descriptive art and whose work was often seriously marred by their scientific outlook. Until the present century there are no genuine South African artists as distinct from visitors who portrayed the scene and then left our shores. Practically every modern painter in South Africa has been influenced by Pieter Wenning, a Hollander, who came to this country in 1905 and died here sixteen years later. Bringing from his native land the fine tradition of the little picture, his landscapes have been an inspiration to all our younger artists.

Of the older men two other Hollanders should be mentioned. Frans Oerder made his name in the Transvaal as a painter of large canvases of yellow grass and distant hills. Many years ago he returned to Holland, but came back to South Africa as an old man in 1939. Though a Hollander by birth J. H. Pierneef is considered by many to be South Africa's only true national painter. Certainly his idiom is his own and not an importation, and he has an unusual understanding of certain purple colour harmonies peculiar to the country.

J. Volschenk (1853-1935), the Father of South African art, was the first painter of the Karoo, being especially successful in depicting its dreamy moods at sunset. Gwelo Goodman, who died in 1939, was born in the Transkei and studied in Paris, where he was much influenced by the art of the French Impressionists. A genius at handling the brush, Goodman was one of South Africa's most successful painters. Professor Edward Roworth, the Principal of the Michaelis School of Art at Cape Town, has produced some fine landscapes and is one of the few able portrait painters in the Union. J. H. Amsheiwitz, best-remembered as a painter of still-life subjects, did much to stimulate an interest in art in the wealthy city of Johannesburg. Sydney Carter is a water-colourist who revels in pictures with sunlight falling on blue gums and Dutch gables. Hugo Naude is well-known as a painter of Namaqualand, and the landscapes of Tinus de Jongh are popular. W. G. Wiles is a brilliant pastel painter of the sea. Of the Everard Group, consisting of Mrs. Bertha Everard, her two daughters and her sister, Miss E. L. M. King, Bertha Everard is the finest painter.

Among the younger set the best-known painters are Gregoire Roonzaier, a Cape Town artist much influenced by Wenning;

Terence McCaw, whose interpretation of mountains and skies is particularly refreshing; W. H. Coetzer, well-known for his historical pictures of the Voortrekkers; Neville Lewis, the portrait painter and official war artist; Alexis Preller, an interesting interpreter of native life; the versatile Walter Battiss, who is at home in almost any medium; François Krige, one of the most sincere of the younger generation of painters; Maggie Laubser, who has a strong sense of design, though much of her painting is stiff and heavy in form; Erich Mayer, a painter of small intimate scenes; and Irma Stern, one of the most vigorous of the modern artists, who has been much influenced by Van Gogh.

Sculptors have been less numerous than painters in South Africa. Their doyen is Anton van Wouw, who was born in Holland in 1862. After studying at Amsterdam and in Italy, he came to South Africa in 1890. He is best known for his statue of President Kruger at Pretoria and the Women's Monument at Bloemfontein, but the spirit of both is sombre and speaks of the past rather than of the future. The Johannesburg Art Gallery contains several examples of his Native studies, notably "Bushmen Hunting," "The Kaffir Hammer Boy" and "The Sleeping Kaffir." Other works of van Wouw are to be seen in the National Museum at Pretoria, while many others are in private collections.

Moses Kottler is a sensitive sculptor, whose "Meidjie" in the Art Gallery at Johannesburg is one of the most sympathetic works of art yet produced in the Union. The sculptural figures on the Johannesburg Library are also the work of Kottler, while the pediment on the Pretoria City Hall is the work of Coert Steynberg, who is also responsible for the dignified statue of Bartholomew Diaz at South Africa House in London. The late H. van Ryneveld earned recognition by his studies of Native life on the Rand mines, while both Lippy Lipschitz and Elsa Dziomba are gifted artists of the younger generation.

Naturally South African art is still much influenced by European models, though in recent years the development of a national art has made great strides. Perhaps, a young country like the Union just developing into manhood cannot be expected to produce any considerable works of art for many years to come, for these are the products of nations with generations of civilization behind them. Yet on the other hand it is in the young countries, gradually establishing themselves by bringing their varied communities into an ordered whole, that public spirit should be found at a high point and in them Art in all its manifold branches should find great opportunities.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

A study of the history of South Africa, "the most complex and arresting of the Dominions," should be both an inspiration and a call to duty to all South Africans, whether they be Afrikaans or English speaking, for their forbears in their several ways and in different degrees have contributed to the exploration, settlement and development of the southern part of the African Continent, the story of which has been as heroic, complicated and varied as that of any other part of the globe. Moreover, if the political union established in 1910 is to be consummated by the forging of a real national unity, then in our history less stress must be put on the past conflicts of Bantu, Boer and Briton and more on the common achievements of all, so that these may serve as bonds of a common nationhood. There must be, too, a greater recognition of the fact that mistakes have not been made on one side alone, that there are two sides to every question and that usually something may be said for each of them.

There must be also the fullest appreciation of the contributions that all have made to the making of the Union of South Africa. Alongside the tributes we should proudly pay to the tenacity of the early Dutch settlers, to the courage of the Cape frontiersmen and to the self-sacrifice of the Voortrekkers and their descendants, there must be admiration for those of British stock who have played a notable part in the building up of South Africa—administrators and soldiers on the Cape eastern frontier, missionaries, early settlers in the Albany District and in Natal, Lord Milner's "Kindergarten," and engineers and financiers, whose knowledge, enterprise and capital built up the great diamond and gold industries with the aid of European and Bantu labour.

Men from the British Isles, who came to serve South Africa and often stayed to make her their home, have given us as part of our heritage much of the best in the tradition of Great Britain—her practical genius for government, her unrivalled literature, her love of justice, tolerance and fair play. These qualities united with what is noblest in the great Afrikaner tradition will make the Union of S. Africa a land that South Africans of all colours and creeds will be proud to serve in the years that are yet to

come, as they have been doing so gallantly and readily during the years of the Second World War.

The history of South Africa is the story of a great, but unfinished, adventure. Of its continuation those of the younger generation are the most important part. With them lies the promise of its future. As South Africans of whatever stock it behoves us all to remember that here is a land, where

Some work of noble note may yet be done,
Not unbecoming men that strive.

A NOTE ON THE WORK OF DAVID LIVINGSTONE

The career of Livingstone belongs rather to Africa as a whole than to South Africa and yet his early work both as a missionary and explorer was done in territory now forming part of the Union.

Livingstone was born in 1813 at Blantyre, Scotland, where his father was a tea-merchant in a very small way. At ten years of age he went to work in a cotton-mill, where he remained till 1836. During these years he studied hard, attended evening classes and saved money, so that he might be trained for work in the mission field. His services were accepted by the London Missionary Society and in 1840 he qualified in Glasgow as a medical missionary. He intended to go to China, but the Opium War made this impossible; and Robert Moffat, whom he met in London, turned his thoughts to Africa. Early in 1841 he arrived at Cape Town, where he spent a month as the guest of Dr. Philip.

At this time the map of Africa was "virtually a blank from the Transvaal to Timbuktu." Livingstone soon became convinced that pioneering—opening up this unknown country for others—was to be his life work. For a time he worked with Moffat at Kuruman, but in 1844 settled with his wife, the gentle and courageous Mary Moffat, at Mabotsa in the Marico District of the Transvaal. From these parts he crossed the Kalahari to Lake Ngami (1849) and reached the Zambezi (1851). Then in order to devote his life more fully to the work of exploration, he sent his wife and family to England in 1852.

From Linyante on the Chobe River (in the Caprivi Strip) in November, 1853, Livingstone began his greatest journey accompanied by a few native carriers. On the 31st May, 1854, almost a dying man, he reached Loanda, the old Portuguese settlement on the West Coast, where he was nursed back to health by the British Consul. In September he began the return journey of 1,500 miles to Linyante, which he reached twelve months later. In just over two months he was on his way again to follow the course of the Zambezi to its mouth. Almost at once he discovered the great falls, which he named after the

Queen, the Victoria Falls. In May, 1856, the first explorer to cross the African Continent, he came to Quelimane on the East Coast. In December he arrived in England to find that he was world-famous and that his words were listened to with respect by missionary bodies, statesmen, geographers and scientists. In the next year he published *Missionary Travels and Researches in Southern Africa*, recounting his work in the fields of geography and natural science. These travels of two-and-a-half years made necessary the reconstruction of the map of Central Africa and, in revealing the horrors of the Arab slave trade on the East Coast, encouraged missionary endeavour everywhere.

In 1858 the explorer severed his connection with the L.M.S. He was appointed British Consul for the East Coast and given command of a Zambezi expedition. He explored the Shire River, discovered Lake Nyasa and resolved to rouse the civilized world to put an end to the desolating slave trade. His wife joined him in 1862, but she died at Shupanga later in the year and Livingstone returned to England in 1864.

He was in Africa again in 1865 working on behalf of the Royal Geographical Society and in the following year started for the interior from the mouth of the Ruvuma. He rounded Lake Nyasa, discovered Lake Bangweulu and finally reached Ujiji on Lake Tanganyika, but he was almost at the end of his resources, for in the first year of his journey one of his porters disappeared with his medicine chest. Livingstone had been out of touch with the outside world for some years and so the New York *Herald* fitted out a well-equipped expedition under H. M. Stanley to discover his whereabouts. Stanley found the lost explorer at Ujiji early in November, 1871. The two explorers spent several months together, but, failing to persuade Livingstone to return to the coast with him, Stanley left him ample supplies and began the return journey to Zanzibar in March, 1872.

Livingstone, whose powers of physical endurance have seldom been equalled in the record of human endeavour, continued his work in Central Africa, but his health soon broke again and on the morning of the 1st May, 1873, his faithful native followers found the great Christian explorer dead on his knees in the attitude of prayer. They buried his heart under a nearby tree and carried his body, papers and instruments almost a thousand miles to Zanzibar. No greater tribute has ever been paid by Africans to the memory of a great European leader.

MAKING OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

the 18th April, 1874, his body was laid to rest in Westminster
Abbey.

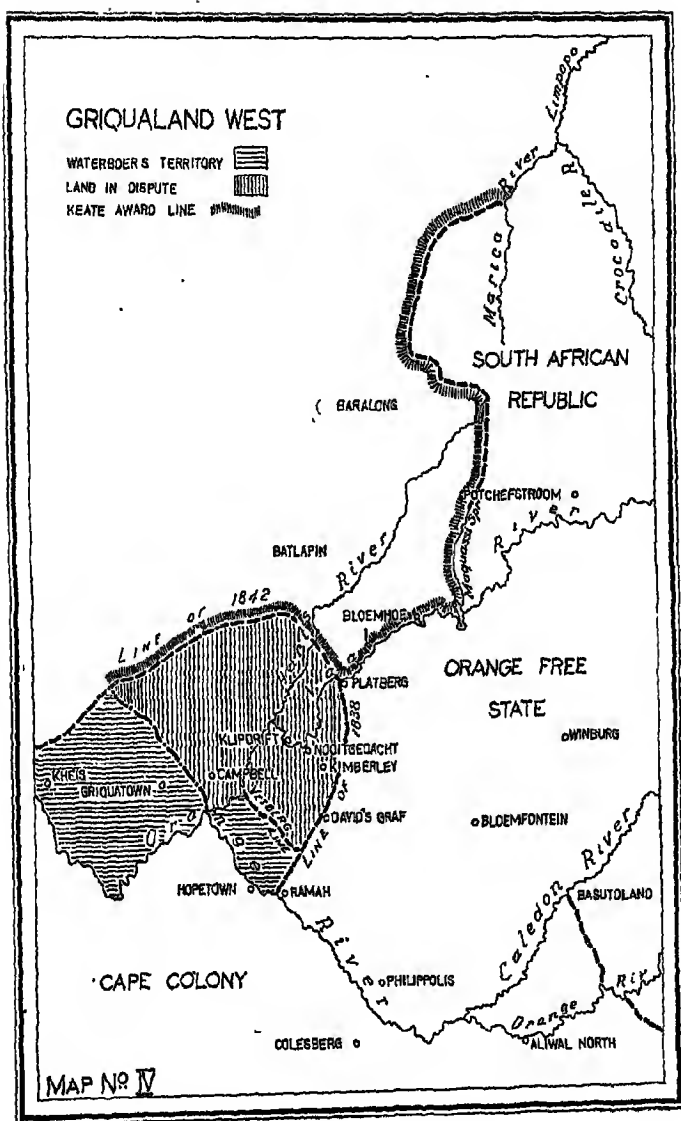
Open the Abbey doors and bear him in
To sleep with king and statesmen, chief and sage,
The missionary comes of weaver-kin,
But great by work that brooks no lower wage.

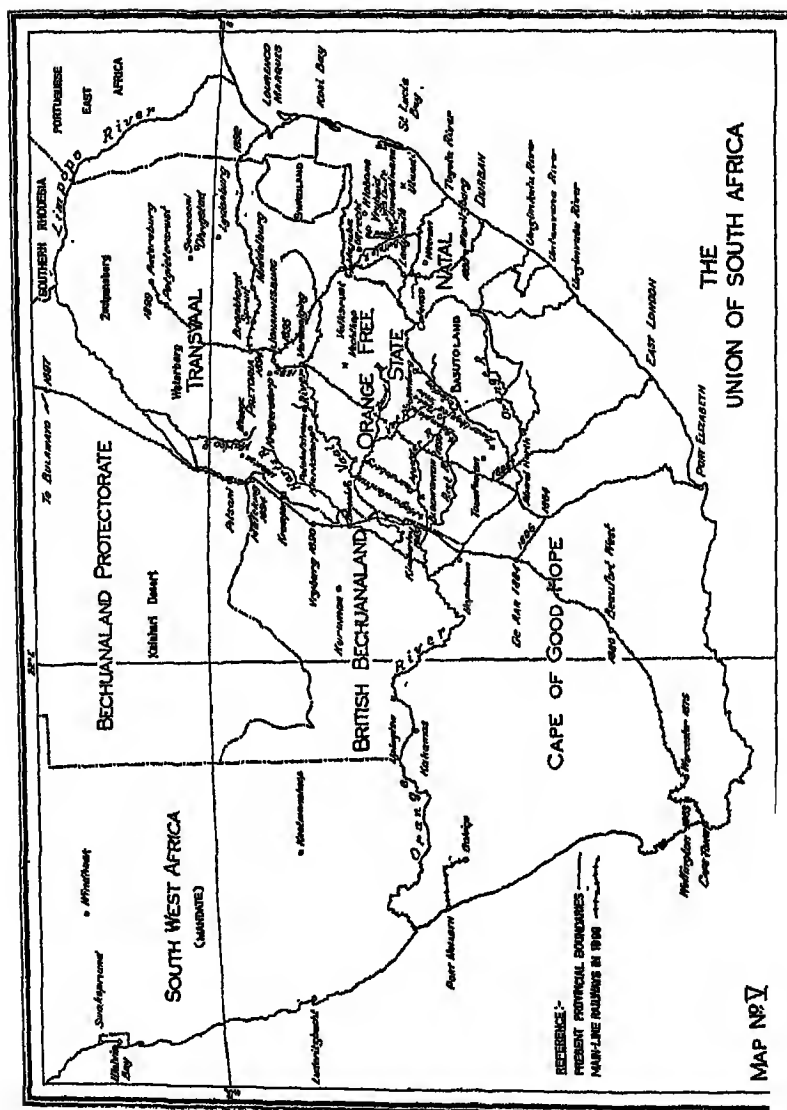
He needs no epitaph to guard a name
Which men shall prize while worthy work is known;
He lived and died for good—be that his fame;
Let marble crumble: this is Living-Stone.

(Punch).

Though Stanley's work in tracing the course of the Congo (1874-1877) led to the partition of Africa among the European powers and so had more immediate political results than the achievements of Livingstone, the latter remains the greatest of all African explorers. It was his example that filled the Continent with an army of explorers, missionaries and traders, who with the aid of the British Navy, finally destroyed the Arab slave-trade soon after slavery had been brought to an end in the U.S.A. Livingstone may rightly be regarded as the liberator of Africa from its greatest and oldest scourge.

MAPS





NATIVE LAND.

MAP

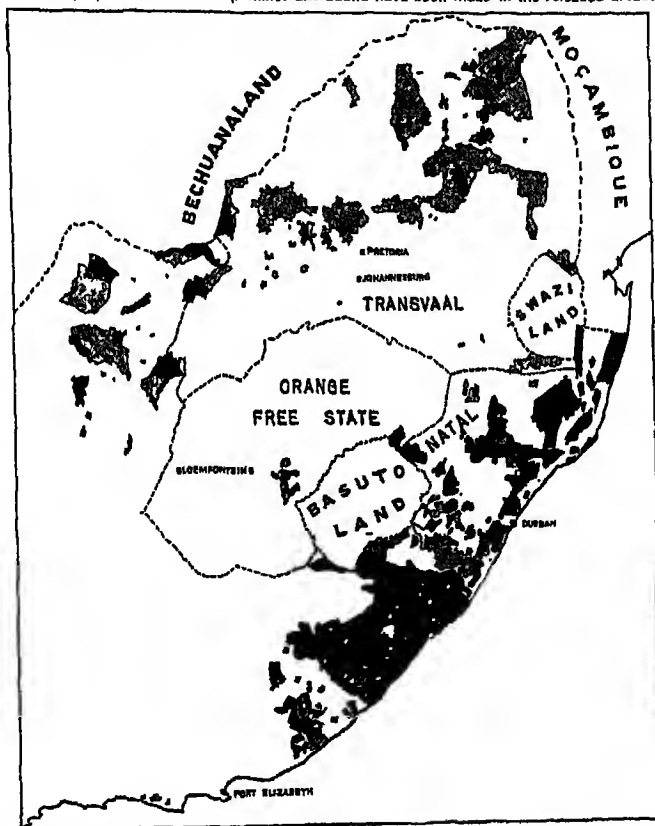
TO ILLUSTRATE

THE NATIVE TRUST AND LAND ACT, 1936.

NOTES:—(1) Land Scheduled in Native's Land Act, 1913 (and amending Acts)—Black areas.

(2) Land Scheduled as "Released" in Native Trust and Land Act, 1936—Shaded areas.

Since the preparation of this map minor alterations have been made in the released areas.



Prepared by the South African Institute of Race Relations,
P. O. Box 1176, Johannesburg.

Map No. VI

APPENDICES:

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DATES

LIST OF DATES

<i>South African History</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>General History</i>
Diaz discovered the Cape	1488	
da Gama named Natal.	1497	
	1498	da Gama reached India by sea.
de Almeida was killed at Table Bay.	1510	
Sir Francis Drake rounded the Cape.	1580	Philip II closed Lisbon to the Dutch.
Houtman rounded the Cape.	1581	The Spanish Armada.
	1588	
	1595	
	1600	English East India Company founded.
	1602	Dutch East India Company founded.
	1604	French East India Company founded.
	1620	
	1648	
Shillinge and Fitzherbert visited the Cape	1652	
Wreck of the <i>Haarlem</i> .	1657	
Foundation of the Cape Settlement.	1658	
Establishment of the Free Burghers.	1665	
Introduction of the first Slaves.	1666	Anglo-Dutch War.
	1679	
Building of the Castle begun.	1685	Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.
Foundation of Stellenbosch	1688	War of the Grand Alliance.
Arrival of the Huguenots.	1701	War of the Spanish Succession.
Agitation against W. A. van der Stel.	1706	
	1713	Treaty of Utrecht.

<i>South African History</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>General History</i>
Foundation of Swellendam.	1746	
Ryk Tulbagh became Governor	1751	
	1756	Seven Years' War
Fish River declared the frontier.	1763	Treaty of Paris.
First Kaffir War; Burgher Petition.	1775	American War of Independence.
	1779	
Britain attempted to capture the Cape.	1780	Holland declared war on Britain.
	1781	
Second Kaffir War	1783	Treaty of Versailles.
Nederburgh and Frykenius at the Cape	1789	French Revolution.
	1792	Revolutionary Wars.
First British Occupation	1794	French invasion of Holland.
	1795	Establishment of the Batavian Republic.
	1798	Dutch East India Company dissolved.
Third Kaffir War, L.M.S. began working in S. Africa	1799	Napoleon Bonaparte, First Consul of France.
	1802	Treaty of Amiens.
Rule of Batavian Republic (de Mist and Janssens)	1803	
Uitenhage and Graaff-Reinet founded.	1804	
	1805	Battle of Trafalgar.
Second British Occupation.	1806	
End of the Slave Trade in the British Empire.	1808	
Hottentot Ordinance.	1809	
Fourth Kaffir War, Circuit Courts started.	1811	
The "Black" Circuit.	1812	The Russian Campaign.

LIST OF DATES

LIST OF DATES—continued

<i>South African History</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>General History</i>
Cape ceded to Great Britain.	1814	First Treaty of Paris, Congress of Vienna.
Slachter's Nek Rebellion.	1815	Battle of Waterloo.
Fifth Kaffir War.	1818	
Establishment of the Neutral Belt.	1819	
Arrival of the British Settlers.	1820	
Arrival of the Commission of Inquiry.	1823	Issue of the Monroe Doctrine.
Port Natal settled.	1824	
Council of Advice	1825	
Ordinance 50, Charter of Justice, Freedom of the Press.	1828	
Kat River Settlement established.	1829	
Crown Lands to be sold by auction.	1832	Great Reform Act in Great Britain
	1833	Emancipation of the Slaves Act.
Legislative Council, Waterboer Treaty, Slave Emancipation, Sixth Kaffir War.	1834	Poor Law Reform in Great Britain.
Province of Queen Adelaide, Trigardt's Trek	1835	
Stockenstrom Treaty System	1836	
Republic of Winburg, First Town Council.	1837	Accession of Queen Victoria.
Massacre of Retief, Battle of Blood River, Foundation of Potchefstroom	1838	
Republic of Natalia.	1839	
British occupation of Port Natal.	1842	
Treaties with Moshesh and Adam Kok.	1843	
Treaty with Faku.	1844	

<i>South African History</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>General History</i>
British annexation of Natal, Battle of Zwartkopies.	1845	
Seventh Kaffir War, First High Commissioner appointed.		
Annexation of Orange River Sovereignty	1846	Repeal of the Corn Laws.
Anti-Convict Agitation.	1848	Year of Revolutions.
Eighth Kaffir War.	1849	Navigation Acts repealed.
Battle of Viervoet.	1850	
Sand River Convention, Battle of Berea.	1851	
Representative Government in the Cape Colony	1852	
Bloemfontein Convention.	1853	
Livingstone discovered the Victoria Falls.	1854	Crimea War.
Constitution of the S.A. Republic drafted.	1855	
The Cattle Killing.	1856	
First Basuto War and First Treaty of Aliwal North	1857	Indian Mutiny.
Sir George Grey's Federation Scheme.	1858	
Introduction of Indian Labour in Natal.	1859	
	1860	
	1861	Civil War in the U.S.A.
Second Basuto War, British Kaffraria joined to the Cape Colony.		
Discovery of the first diamonds.	1865	Emancipation of the Slaves in the U.S.A.
Basutoland annexed by Britain	1867	British North America Act.
	1868	
Second Treaty of Aliwal North.	1869	Opening of the Suez Canal.
	1870	Franco-Prussian War.

LIST OF DATES—continued

<i>South African History</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>General History</i>
Keate Award and the British annexation of Griqualand West	1870	Establishment of the German Empire and the Kingdom of Italy.
Introduction of Responsible Government in the Cape Colony.	1871	
Lord Carnarvon's Federation Scheme.	1872	
Secocoeni War	1875	
Ninth Kaffir War, British annexation of the Transvaal.	1876	
Zulu War, Disarmament Act.	1877	Alliance between Germany and Austria-Hungary
First Boer War.	1879	
Convention of Pretoria.	1880	
Stellaland and Goshenland established.	1881	
Kruger elected President of the Transvaal.	1882	Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria and Italy.
Convention of London, German S.W.A. founded.	1883	Congress of Berlin.
British Bechuanaland and Bechuanaland Protectorate established.	1884	
Witwatersrand Gold fields proclaimed.	1885	
Zululand annexed by Britain.	1886	
Chartered Company founded; Cape-O.F.S. Customs Union formed.	1887	First Colonial Conference.
Salisbury founded in S. Rhodesia.	1889	
Responsible Government in Natal,	1890	
<u>First Matabele War</u>		

